

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 069 821

UD 013 023

TITLE Small Change: A Report on Federal Support for Black Colleges, 1972.

INSTITUTION Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Ga.

PUB DATE 72

NOTE 114p.

AVAILABLE FROM Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30308 (\$1.50)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$6.58

DESCRIPTORS College Segregation; Community Services; *Educational Legislation; *Federal Aid; *Federal Legislation; *Financial Support; Higher Education; Land Grant Universities; *Negro Colleges; Negro Education; Science Programs; State Agencies

IDENTIFIERS Department of Health Education and Welfare; Higher Education Act of 1965; National Institutes of Health

ABSTRACT

The contents of this report, whose purpose is to examine Federal financial aid to black colleges, are organized in 11 chapters: (1) service and survival: then and now (the history of black colleges and their present importance); (2) Federal responsibility and resources (a brief history of Federal aid to higher education and a description of existing programs); (3) Federal response, 1965-1972 (an account of the dialogue between black colleges and the Federal government since the Higher Education Act); (4) H.E.W.: support for teaching and learning; (5) community service: a deliberate difference (Federal support for human resource and community service programs); (6) science and technology: the big money; (7) the 1890 colleges: still second class treatment (a description of the founding and maintenance of a segregated land grant college system in 17 states); (8) N.I.H.: physician, heal thyself; (9) the politics of administration: state powers; (10) the politics of administration: national process; and, (11) facing a century-old mistake (including a discussion of prospects under the Education Amendments of 1972). Appendix A lists Black College associations and agencies. Appendix B is a select bibliography. Appendix C lists traditionally black colleges. (JM)

ED 069821

**SMALL
CHANGE**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRO-
DUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM
THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIG-
INATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPIN-
IONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY
REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDU-
CATION POSITION OR POLICY

**A REPORT
ON
FEDERAL SUPPORT
FOR
BLACK COLLEGES
1972**

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

Price: \$1.50

00013023

Foreword

The Southern Education Foundation has for over 100 years supported expanding educational opportunity for Negroes in Southern states. In the course of that history, its Board members and officers have long had a concern with the growth and survival of black colleges.

The sums of money required to bring belated justice and support to these colleges are now far beyond the capacity of modestly endowed private foundations. We can, however, add to the many voices documenting the needs of the colleges and bringing to public attention the failure of public programs to correct promptly and fairly the historic record of discrimination.

Several recent reports have documented in detail the financial situation of the colleges, and their need for federal funds. It is the particular purpose of this report to survey the current record of government performance in channeling increased federal aid to black colleges, to explain the range of federal programs which could serve these institutions, and to point out the importance of more detailed examination of administrative practices as well as legislation and appropriations levels.

A committee of the Board of Directors has provided guidance for this study, headed by Dr. Frederick Patterson, presently Director of the Moton Foundation and formerly President of Tuskegee Institute (recently retired from the SEF Board of Directors), and Dr. Samuel Nabrit, presently Director of the Southern Fellowships Fund and formerly President of Texas Southern University. Other committee members included Mr. Allen, Dr. Dennard, Miss Fairfax, Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Martin and Dr. Scott.

We wish to express our appreciation to Mrs. Virginia Frank of the Foundation staff, who took primary responsibility for coordinating this study, and to the following individuals who provided research assistance: Mr. William Harvey of Fisk University, Mr. John Egerton of Nashville, Miss Cynthia Neverdon of Coppin State College, Mr. David Mundel of Harvard University, and Mrs. Gretchen Fox and Mr. Thomas Hebert of Washington, D. C. Many other knowledgeable persons have given helpful comment and advice on earlier drafts of this report.

It is our hope that this study may help the public to evaluate more accurately the issues in question, and to understand the public discussion about black colleges and federal funds now taking place.

JOHN A. GRIFFIN
Executive Director

Board of Directors

Samuel W. Allen
Professor of English
Boston University

Cleveland L. Dennard
President
Washington Technical Institute

Jean Fairfax, Director
Division of Legal Information
and Community Service
NAACP Legal Defense and
Education Fund

Harold C. Fleming
President
Potomac Institute

Gordon Foster
Professor of Education
University of Miami

David F. Freeman
Director
Council on Foundations

Watts Hill, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Home Security Life
Insurance Company
Durham, North Carolina

Tobe Johnson
Afro-American Studies Director
Atlanta University Center

Ruby Martin, Attorney
Washington Research Project
Washington, D. C.

Samuel M. Nabrit
Director
Southern Fellowships Fund

Anton H. Rice, Jr.
Spencer, Trask and Company
New York

Gloria Scott
Director, Institutional Research
North Carolina A & T University

* as of June 15, 1972

STAFF:

John A. Griffin, Executive Director
Elridge W. McMillan, Associate Director
Virginia Frank, Washington Representative

Table of Contents

Part I: THE RECORD OF THE PAST

	<i>Page</i>
Chapter 1 Service and Survival: Then and Now	1
The history of black colleges and their present importance ... Some brief facts about them and the associations which now represent them.	
Chapter 2 Federal Responsibility and Resources	9
The special responsibility of the national government, which sanctioned segregation and discrimination, to remedy the consequences ... A brief history of federal aid to higher education and a description of existing programs.	
Chapter 3 Federal Response, 1965-1972	15
An account of the dialogue between black colleges and the federal government since the first Higher Education Act ... The founding of the National Association for Equal Oppor- tunity in Higher Education ... The FICE Reports ... Ad- ministration policy and Congressional actions in recent years ... A critical analysis of the present government position.	

Part II: THE CURRENT RECORD

Chapter 4 HEW: Support for Teaching and Learning	27
A description of recent black college participation in student aid, construction, developing institutions, instructional aid, library, faculty development, and arts and humanities programs.	
Chapter 5 Community Service: A Deliberate Difference	49
Federal support for human resource and community service programs ... Some preliminary thoughts on a large subject.	
Chapter 6 Science and Technology: The Big Money	55
The "research and development" issue ... A description of the National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Agency, Atomic Energy Commission and Department of Defense support for and relationship to black colleges.	

Table of Contents

Chapter 7 The 1890 Colleges: Still Second Class Treatment..... 69

A description of the founding and maintenance of a segregated land grant college system in seventeen states . . . The authorizing legislation . . . Practice of the states and the U. S. Department of Agriculture . . . Some recent signs of change.

Chapter 8 NIH: Physician, Heal Thyself..... 77

A description of the National Institutes of Health . . . Their support for black colleges . . . A self-study . . . The promise of new programs.

Part III: CORRECTING THE RECORD

Chapter 9 The Politics of Administration: State Powers..... 81

State desegregation plans . . . State and regional management of some federal programs.

Chapter 10 The Politics of Administration: National Process..... 87

National needs assessment . . . Composition of advisory committees . . . Agency staff employment . . . The utility of self-studies . . . The importance of regulations . . . The National Institute of Education.

Chapter 11 Facing a Century-Old Mistake..... 93

The inadequacy of present levels of support . . . Prospects under the Education Amendments of 1972 . . . The importance of appropriations . . . Additional agendas.

Appendix A: Black College Associations and Agencies..... 98

Appendix B: Bibliography 99

Appendix C: List of Traditionally Black Colleges..... 100

Chapter 1

Service and Survival: Then and Now

The purpose of this report is to examine federal financial aid to black colleges—institutions which were created for the purpose of separation, which survived under conditions of great inequity and isolation, and which have performed an historic function that cannot be ignored.

Colleges created to serve black Americans have existed in the United States for more than 135 years. Both church and state participated in the development of the black colleges; both are still involved in their operation. Although the colleges could not have survived without that support, it may also be true that they endured in spite of those white-dominated institutions. In any event, most of them have endured.

Ironically, the surviving black colleges may be more seriously threatened now than at any other time in their history. Beset by mounting problems of finance, staffing, enrollment and curriculum, they now hear white officials of church and state saying their mission is completed.

But the belated and still insubstantial desegregation of white institutions of higher learning does not remove the need for black colleges. Even if white colleges were to make room immediately for the more than 170,000 students now attending the black schools—an exceedingly remote possibility at best—there are at least two compelling reasons why the result would be inequitable and discriminatory to black Americans.

The first is that the present number and percentage of blacks in higher education is far too low; a "remedy" that merely maintained the status quo would be no remedy at all. Although blacks make up about 11 percent of the national population—and closer to 13 percent of the college-age population—they constitute no more than 4 percent of the full-time enrollment in predominantly white colleges and universities.* Those institutions would have to triple their enrollment of blacks, while holding total enrollment at the present level, in order to approach parity for the black minority. There is no realistic prospect that such a radical change can or will be made.

It is clear that in the next decade, if these institutions are not strengthened to better perform their tasks, enrollment and graduation figures could begin to level off and decline for black youth when the enrollment curve should be climbing sharply. Any reversal in the fortunes and functionings of these institutions will be immediately reflected in national figures for black Americans in colleges . . .

—Elias Blake, Jr., 1971

The second reason why predominantly white institutions cannot eliminate the need for the black colleges is that their energy and resources are directed primarily to the service of the white majority, and in particular the middle and upper classes. One statistic will suffice to make the point: while only four of every ten black students now in college are at traditionally black institutions, those same institutions award seven of every ten degrees earned by black students annually. The black colleges, in short, have an enviable record of service to low-income students who have talent and motivation in spite of the lack of good formal preparation, while at the same time serving admirably their middle-class students who were raised under more sophisticated circumstances. White institutions, on the other hand, have been generally inhospitable to the poor—whites as well as minorities—and destructive of traditions, cultures, mores and values that resist assimilation into the white middle-class ethos.

Thus the black colleges not only have an essential task to perform; they are, in fact, a national asset. Their capacity for survival and their

* Enrollment figures for black colleges and for black students in all colleges are far from agreed upon. Many projections are based on sampling data gathered by the Census Bureau, which are not compatible with data collected by HEW's Office of Civil Rights. We can only accept for the moment the kinds of figures used in this paper with the understanding that they are badly in need of verification and probable revision.

historic achievements under the most adverse conditions would be reason enough to support them now, but there are more persuasive reasons. Against a growing trend toward homogenization in institutions and in the society at large, the black colleges can offer a refreshing diversity. They serve, for the most part, a different race and a broader range of economic classes than the majority of colleges and universities, and serve them in ways both inventive and effective. Far from simply having a right to exist, they have a unique contribution to make, and it is more than ever in the public interest that they be supported and strengthened.

It is also very much in the interest of the black community of America that they be supported and strengthened.

Self-development is more than an academic matter. Some young black students, and some black scholars, may flourish in the essentially foreign territory of white America. But some will continue to want an environment in which they can be a natural part of every phase of college life, in which their community of interest is taken for granted, and in which to be black is not to be lonely. Some will need a better chance to be an editor of a college newspaper or the business manager of a college club in order to aspire to such positions in the world of work, in order to make believable the possibility that they can run a part of the larger society.

The black colleges have served not only the under-prepared and low-income students. They have and will continue to produce black professional and intellectual leadership. As long as there are small towns without lawyers to serve the black community, as long as there are too few doctors to look after the health of the black community, as long as there are too few accountants to help with tax problems, and too few public officials who represent the interests of the black community, the black colleges must continue to produce that kind of leadership.

Moreover, the state of the public schools must not be ignored. America's cities will, in spite of our best efforts, continue to "school" large numbers of black students in under-financed and deteriorating educational systems; the rural schools of the South which house another large portion of black students cannot soon find a way to offer quality education free of racial inequity. Realism demands that we recognize how short-changed part of another generation of black students will be, how the odds are against them in the competition for existing places in white colleges and universities. The black colleges give them a chance for something better, and a hope that those long odds may be more quickly reduced in the system as a whole.

In short, as long as there are social injustices which affect the lives of minorities, there must be academic institutions which give priority to black concerns. These black colleges are now challenged to grow and expand—not merely to survive, but to provide a strong institutional base for black Americans.

The desegregation of white colleges and universities that finally began to gain momentum in the latter half of the 1960's hopefully will continue to accelerate. Those institutions need a significant black presence; the benefits to be derived from that union are mutually advantageous to white and black students and faculty, as well as to the institutions themselves.

Contrary to the popular stereotype, the black colleges have also made progress in the area of desegregation. In fact, they have never excluded whites of their own accord, and as a group have twice as high a percentage of white students as the white institutions have blacks. In some parts of the black community systematic discrimination has given rise to attitudes of black separatism—and there is ample justification in the historical record for those expressions—but the prevailing conclusion in the black colleges is that separate development is ultimately self-defeating. For better or worse, white Americans and black Americans are inseparably bound together. Once again, the record suggests that it is blacks who are teaching that lesson to whites, rather than the other way around.

The fact that they have continued to exist, to increase in size, and in the quality of program, and to produce about 80 percent of all Negro students who receive undergraduate degrees . . . is in the nature of a miracle whose full story is yet to be told. I think the late Charles S. Johnson, then president of Fisk University, was right when he said that what the black institutions have to contribute most especially in the diffusing process of integration in higher education are the values that lie in the experience of struggle and survival.

—Herman Long, President, Talladega College, 1971

So the need for traditionally black colleges, far from diminishing, is now greater than ever. Some of them, such as private colleges sponsored by the same church organization, may choose to consolidate. Some of the private institutions in particular may make the black heritage a central focus, serving a predominantly black clientele the way other established institutions serve Catholics or Jews. Some may develop as yet untried new forms of service-learning, or research capacities in human resources, or new teaching styles. But regardless of size, location, clientele or specialty these institutions should grow in stature as fully equal partners in the national network of public and private institutions of higher learning. They should expand their role and their constituency even beyond their present service.

The black institutions, despite handicaps created by neglect and malicious intent, have enabled hundreds of students shackled by poverty and racism to break free. Therefore, these institutions have earned the right to be of continuing service to the Nation.

—Miles Mark Fisher, IV, 1971

The traditionally black institutions include 35 public, degree-granting colleges and universities, 50 four-year colleges that are privately supported, and about 20 two-year schools. The 85 degree-granting institutions are located in 19 states and the District of Columbia. Of the approximately 400,000 degree-seeking black students now enrolled in four-year colleges and universities, about 170,000 of them—some 44 percent—are in 85 black institutions.*

Public Senior Colleges

Most of the public black colleges came into existence during the half-century following the close of the Civil War, when segregation, under the guise of "separate but equal," was replacing slavery as the means by which the white American majority kept its advantage over the black minority. Locked into a cycle of perpetual disadvantage, the colleges suffered decades of overt white racism.

The seventeen designated as land-grant institutions under the Morrill Act of 1890 had as recently as 1928 more students enrolled for secondary courses than for college-level work.** The other 19 public colleges founded for Negroes also frequently began as secondary schools and later gained status as teacher training institutions for segregated Negro schools. Whatever the law said about "separate but equal," it was never the intent of the states—or the federal government—to make the public black colleges equal in any way to the colleges created for whites.

Considering the adversity they have faced, these 35 colleges collectively have compiled a remarkable record. Strung out in cities, towns and rural areas from Houston to Baltimore, they have provided a college education not only for black students from the Southern and border states (where all but two of the schools are located) but for blacks from

* Elias Blake, Jr., "Higher Education for Black Americans" (Mimeo.), Paper prepared for National Policy Conference, Washington, D. C., 1972.

** William Payne, *Civil Rights Digest*, Spring 1971, p. 26.

the North and West as well. Until very recently, such states as New Jersey and Wisconsin had more black students enrolled in these colleges than in all their own public and private colleges combined.

Their collective enrollment of 110,000 students (10 percent of them white) is higher than ever before. Nine of them enroll more than 4,000 students each, and 19 of the total have either graduate or professional degree programs or both.

Private Senior Colleges

The private black colleges and universities began for the most part under religious auspices, and many of the remaining 50 retain a church affiliation. Although their financial situation now is generally more tenuous than that of the public colleges, many of them claim long records of distinctive achievement as liberal arts institutions.

Such schools as Hampton Institute in Virginia, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Fisk University in Nashville, Howard University in Washington, and the Atlanta University Center, a federation of six separate institutions, have compiled enviable records since their founding in the post-Civil War era. Always inadequately financed, in recent years most of them have also been saddled with budget deficits. Because they were unable to accumulate adequate endowments and yet were faced with the necessity of educating many students from low-income families, the private institutions have had to rely on help from the outside—gifts and grants from foundations, the federal government and private sources. The help has never been enough.

Perhaps the most important attribute shared by invisible and elite colleges is smallness . . . the small college is characterized by a more friendly atmosphere, closer contacts between faculty and students, a stronger identification with the institution, and a feeling on the part of the students that they matter as individuals. Although it remains to be proven empirically that these institutional attributes are indeed virtues, one can make a strong prior case that they are more conducive to student development than are the depersonalizing and alienating attributes of large institutions.

—Austin and Lee, *The Invisible Colleges*, 1972

Black College Associations

To help overcome their multiple problems, the black colleges have formed several national associations and agencies.

The **United Negro College Fund (UNCF)**, the oldest and best known, is primarily a fund-raising agency for 36 of the private, accredited, degree-granting black colleges, with national headquarters in New York under the direction of Arthur Fletcher. The Fund currently raises about \$10 million annually for its members from corporations, foundations and individuals.

Another organization, the **Council on Cooperative College Projects (CCCCP)**, was formed by the presidents of the black land-grant colleges in 1958. It is an informal group, with no staff, and its functions are generally handled by the presidents on an ad hoc task force basis.

Two Washington-based agencies, the **Institute for Services to Education (ISE)** and The **Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve College Services (TACTICS)**,* have been especially valuable as support groups. They are federally funded consortia of colleges, sponsoring faculty and curriculum development projects and providing technical assistance and services for educational development.

A major organization developed in recent years is the **Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges (OAPNC)**. It is affiliated with the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, and was established in July, 1968, with the support and assistance of that agency.

About half of the public black colleges are members of the National Association by virtue of their status as land-grant colleges. Dr. R. T. Morrison, the president of Alabama A & M University, is credited with striking the spark that brought about OAPNC. It was he who chided the land-grant association about the organization's insensitivity to the conditions and problems of member black colleges. Introspective questioning and self-analysis led the association to raise private foundation funds for the creation of OAPNC.

The agency was established in Atlanta, near the center of the geographical area where the public black colleges are concentrated, under the direction of Dr. Herman B. Smith, Jr. Its major function is to build the case for the colleges: to gather and disseminate information on their assets and accomplishments, and to show federal, foundation and corporate officials why they deserve better support.

The association believes that creative partnerships between the public and private sectors can facilitate and intensify the efforts of member colleges to improve and expand their educational programs and services. This approach has enabled white institutions to achieve some excellent programs; it can do the same for black colleges and universities.

OAPNC has generated more than a dozen recent grants from the private sector to the public black colleges, each one exceeding

* See p. 40.

\$250,000, for such purposes as development of new curricula, strengthening of library facilities and services, and establishment of special programs to serve financially and educationally disadvantaged students.

But the purpose of OAPNC is not only fund-raising. Says Dr. Smith: "It doesn't do any good to keep raising funds if you aren't engaged in a kind of educational and developmental activity to increase the capability of the recipients of these funds to generate funds on their own and to spend more effectively the funds they receive."

The youngest organization, **The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education**, represents nearly all the black colleges in their efforts to gain federal attention and support. Its mission is directly bound up with the history of recent federal actions, and is described in Chapter 3.

* * *

Taken as a group, the 85 degree-granting colleges and universities created to serve black Americans have made the most of the meager support they have received. In 1970, they awarded more than 25,000 degrees. Two of every three graduates came from families having an annual income of less than \$5,200; yet nationwide less than 10 percent of the people from that income level manage to get a college education.

The black colleges typically have served a population that sometimes cannot, and often does not wish to, go elsewhere. It has served that population remarkably well. Black Americans who have distinguished themselves in the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government at all levels, in the diplomatic corps and in the military, in corporate life and in the professions, more often than not have been products of the black colleges and universities. The colleges and their graduates have been a national asset of unrealized and unappreciated proportions. They have a growing and important role to play in the future.

Chapter 2

Federal Responsibility and Resources

Before 1965 the national government spent less than a billion dollars annually on higher education. The total was \$4 billion by 1969, and a budget of \$7 billion is proposed for 1973.

Over the last decade dramatic changes have clearly taken place in attitudes about federal support for colleges and universities. Universal higher education opportunity, once a national article of faith, has become a controversial question. Federal support, once avoided for the sake of independence, is now eagerly sought.

In this large debate over federal aid, the issue of black college survival has been submerged. Wrongly so, for the results of the civil rights movement have only begun to alleviate decades of institutional discrimination.

Private funds are inadequate to the task. It will take a major national public commitment to redress the historic injustices against minority institutions and students.

There is a special responsibility on the federal government to remedy the cumulative deficit of black colleges, for the establishment of a dual and unequal system of higher education was as much the work of the Congress of the United States and the Courts as it was the work of Southern state governments.

Congressional sanction of segregated land grant colleges in 1890, together with the verdict of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, laid the foundation for discriminatory higher education opportunity in many states of the union. Through the years, increasing government investment in research and science encouraged white universities to flourish while the black institutions remained invisible and under-funded.

For the black colleges, only the federal government has the resources to meet the need, as every analysis make clear. The most detailed recent report, by the Carnegie Commission, recommends an addition of nearly \$300 million annually in new federal funds.*

A somewhat older but still significant study by Earl J. McGrath of Columbia University in 1965 states:

... anyone who thinks that a significant percentage of (black colleges) can be substantially helped by an expenditure of a few million dollars sadly deludes himself. The presently predominantly Negro colleges will need several hundred million dollars in the next five or ten years merely to keep step with the growing needs of their potential student bodies and the unprecedented advancements in higher education . . . Anything less than such efforts will result in continuing restrictions nearly as demeaning and privational as segregation itself.**

The federal government bears a unique responsibility to strengthen the traditionally black institutions at the moment when it is belatedly moving to impose desegregation and unitary state systems. It must provide support and leadership which will prevent the special service and role of these colleges from being wiped out in the name of assimilation.

States which had dual higher education systems have of course a similar obligation. But the special purpose of this report is to examine how the federal government is responding to the needs of these colleges and what it is doing to correct a century old injustice.

That examination requires an understanding of the nature of federal resources—what legislation and funds now are available, what goals Congress has set for higher education in general.

* Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *From Isolation to Mainstream*, 1971.

** *The Predominantly Negro Colleges in Transition*, Columbia University, 1965.

A Brief History of Federal Funds for Higher Education

There is now no special legislation for black colleges or other minority institutions, with the exception of one "Developing Institutions" program begun in 1965. There has never been legislation designed to meet the needs of black colleges, as indeed there has never been legislation designed primarily to meet broad needs of any undergraduate colleges. The billions of federal dollars which flow to colleges and universities derive from legislation designed to meet other national goals. Black colleges compete for a small share of them.

Until 1958 there was little federal grant support at all for the instructional functions of colleges, even indirectly. Since that time programs have gradually been added to help construct classrooms, provide scholarships and loans, strengthen libraries, buy equipment, support developing institutions, and train faculty.

By 1969 these "categorical aids" accounted for about one-quarter of federal funds for higher education. Another quarter of the federal dollar is designated for human resource and community development support. The remaining half is devoted to research and development in science, technology, health and agriculture.

A brief historical review of authorizations and major programs follows.

Land Grant Colleges and the Morrill Acts

In the nineteenth century Congress took its first step into the higher education business. The first and second Morrill Acts, passed in 1862 and 1890, gave money to states to endow agricultural colleges. Other legislation, early in the twentieth century, designated large amounts of federal money to establish experimental research stations and agricultural extension services in these land grant colleges. The story of that development is told in Chapter 7.

Research Funds

Up until the Second World War there was little federal support for higher education other than the land grant college funds. But during and after that war government began a massive investment in research for defense, basic science, and technology, which rose from a total of \$95 million in 1948 to \$1.79 billion in 1964. The impact of these research funds on institutions was almost entirely concentrated on the 100 largest universities, as has been extensively documented by the National Science Foundation. Howard University is the only black college ever appearing in that list; that is because all of its operating funds as well as other program funds come from the federal budget. An analysis of the relationship between research funds and black colleges is found in Chapter 6.

Contracts for Services

When government finds itself confronted with a need or a crisis, it frequently turns to higher education institutions for help. Just as it turned to university research to increase agricultural production and to advance science and technology, so the government has now turned to academic institutions for solutions to other problems: juvenile delinquency control, health care, foreign aid, environmental improvement, and so on. Most of these social service programs date from legislation of the 1960's, but a few agencies like the National Institutes of Health have done business with universities since the 1930's. By now funds for community service and extension work in many fields account for nearly a billion dollars worth of federal aid annually, and are discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 7.

The G.I. Bill and Student Aid

After World War Two Congress passed legislation to help veterans go to colleges. Although designed as a reward for servicemen, it actually established the first federal scholarships, well before student aid programs in the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965. Direct federal undergraduate scholarships for low-income students are further expanded under the Education Amendments of 1972, but veterans benefits have so far been the largest student aid funds available. The whole question of student aid is taken up in Chapter 4.

The 1950's: Early Steps

The first step toward real assistance to the educational functions of institutions was taken through the College Housing Act of 1950, although it cautiously provided only construction loans, not grants.

When Sputnik successfully orbited the earth in 1957 and many Americans began to react defensively to the Russian achievement in space technology, another step toward federal aid followed. The National Defense Education Act moved through Congress with ease, and was signed into law in 1958 to be administered by the Office of Education. Although this legislation grew out of a defensive concern for science improvement, it soon paved the way for more general aid.

The 1960's: Categorical Aids

Legislation in the 1960's responded to some major education needs. Although none of it authorized broad institutional support, funds in specific categories began to be available to colleges.

- First came a commitment to build classrooms in the College Facilities Act of 1963.
- Then came the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, providing

student scholarships for the first time as well as new specialized teacher training funds.

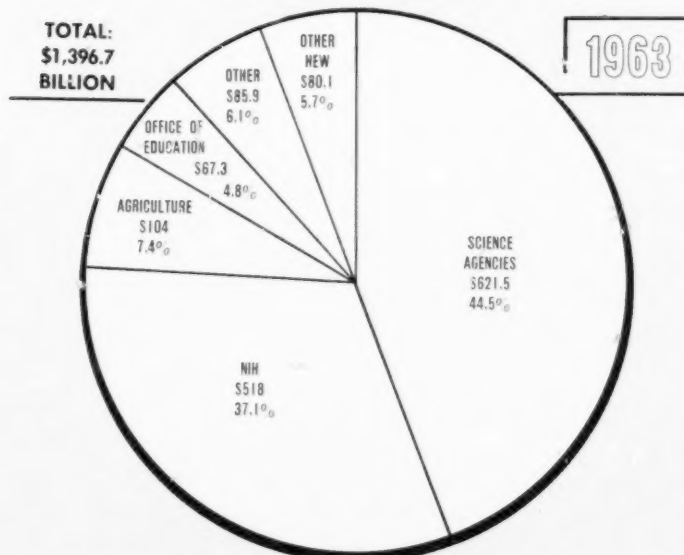
- Then came the Higher Education Act in 1965, the year of the "Education Congress"; new proposals for an increased federal role had wide bipartisan support. The bill authorized important new programs for poor students, the solution of urban problems, better libraries and teaching equipment, and aid to "developing institutions."
- Finally came the Educational Professions Development Act in 1968, consolidating and expanding all teacher training programs.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 represented an accelerating commitment of direct aid to higher education. The momentum it generated culminated in the authorization of the first direct institutional grants in the Education Amendments of 1972, based on a new student aid formula, and thus favoring a national priority to low-income student opportunity.

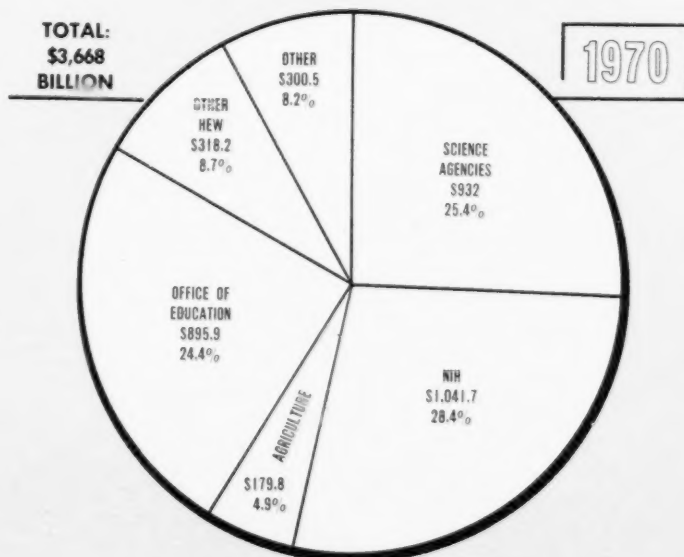
Summary

Although funds for research and development were the prime national priority before 1965, they now account for only half the federal higher education dollar. Another quarter is spent on various community service programs: contracts or grants to solve social problems. And the share of basic educational support programs, presently about 25 percent, seems destined to increase rapidly.

CHANGING SOURCES OF FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)



SOURCE: NSF: FEDERAL SUPPORT TO UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES 1963-1966



SOURCE: FICE 1970 REPORT

Chapter 3

Federal Response, 1965-1972

In 1966 and 1967, shortly after the passage of the first Higher Education Act, black colleges began to establish connections and communications in Washington which would enable them to share in the new funds.

These institutions had not had much luck with previous federal programs and were blocked out of the networks of grantsmanship which had grown up in Washington; nor had they yet gained equitable treatment from state legislatures. But the newer categorical programs, many of them administered directly from Washington without state plans and specifically directed toward helping the education of poor students, seemed a more fertile field.

Black college groups created various new agencies: the Cooperative College Development Office helped dozens of black institutions establish development offices and train development personnel; the College Service Bureau of UNCF opened an office in Washington to help a large group of black colleges with grantsmanship; the Institute for Services to Education formed a consortium of black colleges to apply for significant joint program support.

By 1968 the black colleges saw clearly that these efforts were not enough. They felt strongly that the federal government was insensitive

to their needs and special history. The formation of a black college lobby, **The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education**, resulted from that dissatisfaction.

The NAFEOHE Story

Formal efforts to organize began with a meeting of black college presidents in Washington in June, 1969. In Atlanta a month later they chose a steering committee to seek a meeting with President Nixon. There followed immediately a three-day meeting of presidents in Mobile, Alabama, sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. The presidents, meeting there in a group under the chairmanship of Talladega College President Herman Long, made it clear that they were not at all happy about the Nixon Administration's response to the plight of the black colleges: "We are appalled and outraged at the inadequate understanding of our problems, and the weaknesses of the proposed solutions."

In a resolution sent to President Nixon and other Administration and Congressional leaders, the presidents came directly to the point:

This conference reinforces our conviction that the objectives and programs of the black colleges are not sufficiently understood or appreciated by decision-makers and program planners in the U.S. Office of Education and the Congress.

While the steering committee continued through the summer and early fall to seek an appointment with the President, other activities of the black college presidents began to bear fruit. The White House instructed all federal agencies to prepare reports detailing their support to black colleges, and appointed the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) to coordinate this data-gathering.

At a meeting in Washington on October 7, the presidents formally organized the new National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education and named Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, chairman of a 21-member interim executive committee. The organization was given a boost by an extraordinary amount of favorable publicity. Convening in Washington at the same time as the American Council on Education, to which most of the black colleges belong, the new group attracted national press attention to its activities. Subsequent articles in leading newspapers and magazines across the country focused attention on the contributions black colleges make to American society without reciprocal support from government, industry and foundations.

Finally, the 55 colleges in the new organization held a full-scale meeting in Dallas in December. Explicitly rejecting any responsibility for institutional fund-raising, the presidents established a membership and administrative pattern and outlined some initial priorities, including the following:

1. To provide a **unified framework** representing predominantly

Negro colleges and similarly situated institutions in their attempt to continue as viable forces in American society;

2. To build the case for securing **increased support** from federal agencies, philanthropic foundations, and other sources;
3. To increase the **active participation of Blacks in the leadership of education organizations** together with memberships on federal boards and commissions relating to education; and
4. To provide detailed continuing yearly **analyses** of constructive information about these colleges and to use that information to help the public develop and maintain a sensitivity to the overall needs of these institutions of higher education.

One of the first tasks of NAFEOHE was to try to influence legislation which would be beneficial to black higher education. Dr. Herman Branson, then President of Central State University, President Herman H. Long of Talladega College, and President Lewis C. Dowdy of North Carolina A & T University were invited to present testimony on the omnibus higher education bill then being considered by Congress.

Dr. Long told the Congressional representatives that he and his colleagues were making the first attempt "in the history of the legislative process" to confront Congress directly with the plight of the nation's black colleges. The colleges, he asserted, are operating as a national resource—40 percent of their students come from outside the South—and they are therefore deserving of a greatly increased proportion of federal support. He noted further that graduates of the black colleges make up 75 percent of the nation's black military officers, 64 percent of the highest ranking black federal officials, 40 percent of the blacks in Congress, 64 percent of the black state representatives who attended college, 80 percent of the black physicians, and 75 percent of the black scholars who have gone on to earn doctoral degrees.

In his testimony, Dr. Long proposed that Congress increase appropriations for the Developing Institutions program of the Higher Education Act, earmark a specific portion of it for black colleges, create a new National Institute of Education to support the higher education quest of the nation's 4.4 million non-whites and poor whites, and provide direct federal funding for facilities and equipment in colleges serving large numbers of low-income students.

In later meetings with Administration officials and Congressmen, NAFEOHE representatives attacked the ambiguous and contradictory positions being taken on the issue of equality of educational opportunity by spokesmen for President Nixon. They called for replacement of federal loans with direct grants to students, and joined in the appeal for general institutional support from the federal government, adding a request that more money be earmarked for colleges and universities enrolling and graduating a majority of low-income and minority-group students. While white colleges now enroll more black students than

black colleges, they said, the black colleges still produce by far the largest percentage of black graduates; their productivity should be recognized and rewarded. Said Dr. Branson in his testimony before Congress, "All they (the white colleges) did in many instances was to get them in, take their picture, and they were home by Thanksgiving."

Meanwhile efforts continued to arrange a meeting with the President. It took place in May, 1970, following killings in Augusta and at Kent State University, but preceding by a few hours the police slaying of two young black men at Jackson State University.

Dr. Branson read to President Nixon a statement that had been prepared by members of the association. "We come," the statement said, "to express the anger, outrage, and frustration of the black people of this nation. We wish to convey to you the disenchantment of blacks, especially black youth, with our society and with the federal government." Citing long-standing conditions of racism, poverty, unemployment and inequality of educational opportunity for blacks and other minorities, the statement accused the President of adding to the anguish by pursuing his "Southern strategy," neglecting urban problems, conveying a sense of indifference to the victims of racism, and personally failing "to use your great moral influence to bring the people of this great nation together."

The 15 NAFEOHE representatives at the meeting specifically proposed to the President that he:

- Deliver a Presidential message on national television reaffirming the federal government's resolve to protect the lives of black citizens;
- Assure the inclusion and involvement of more black citizens in the formulation of domestic policies and on all major councils advising the President and the Administration;
- Convene a conference with a representative group of black college students as soon as possible;
- Issue an executive order containing recommendations for state and local law enforcement agencies on the use or non-use of guns in crowd control;
- Appoint a black deputy attorney general to be responsible for investigation and prosecution of cases involving the killing of unarmed citizens by police;
- Review fiscal year 1972 budget proposals and increase funding to black colleges and to programs that strengthen the internal life of black communities.

After the meeting, Howard's President Cheek called the encounter a good beginning and expressed the hope that Mr. Nixon would respond in deeds as he had in words.

Black Colleges' advice ought to be sought and their programs supported in the interests of the country. The Association intends to see that this happens.

—Dr. Herman Long, President, Talladega College

Under the Presidency of Dr. Branson and the staff direction of Miles Mark Fisher, IV, in a Washington headquarters, NAFEOHE has given priority since that time to promoting the interests of black colleges in the new Higher Education legislation of 1972. But perhaps the most important consequence of their work flowed from the 1969 White House directive to document federal grants to black colleges. The Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) assumed this responsibility in October, 1969, and its first report was released the following July.

The FICE Reports

Documentation of federal support to black colleges was not easy. Agencies had not kept records in this way before, some bureaucrats did not know what black colleges were, and comparable reliable figures across many agencies were difficult to produce. The small FICE staff worked hard at its mission, and refined its information gathering techniques. Such problems as separating loans from grants have been persistent. The original 1969 report was revised and reprinted, and revised again. The 1970 report, planned for October, 1971, finally appeared in print in June, 1972.

The FICE reports are nevertheless the most important documents available on federal support for black colleges; they are essential background to any policy discussion. They summarize the spending of \$108 million in 1969, 2.9 percent of total federal support for higher education, and of \$125.5 million in 1970, 3.4 percent of the total.*

Beyond its factual usefulness, the FICE process of data collection has generated important results in alerting agencies to the problem and producing at least minimal commitment to improvement. Agencies which were unconscious of black colleges saw themselves in comparison to others which had done better. Agency staff who wished to bolster

* *Federal Agencies and Black Colleges; Fiscal Year 1969*, available from Federal Interagency Committee on Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20202, and *Federal Agencies and Black Colleges; Fiscal Year 1970* [DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-70], Federal Interagency Committee on Education, Superintendent of Documents Catalog No. HE 5.250:50068; 1972. \$.45. These reports are hereafter referred to as FICE Report 1969 and FICE Report 1970.

the position of black colleges had an administrative directive to use for leverage. In some agencies, of course, the responses were careless and minimal. But on the whole, the FICE process and resulting reports have given impetus to much of the improvement since 1969.

There are, however, serious problems about the FICE report and the continuing data collection process:

1. Although the FICE report was originally drawn up in response to a request from representatives of the traditionally black colleges, its data are based on a much broader definition of "predominantly" black institutions. The traditional list, colleges founded for blacks as a result of *de jure* or *de facto* segregation, is the one used by most other reports in the field.*

The federal list does not include those traditionally black colleges which are now more than 50 percent white (West Virginia State and Lincoln in Missouri). It does include many new or newly black institutions, mostly public community and junior colleges in the North and West which serve urban populations. The list which is being used for 1971 information includes 11 colleges, 10 percent of the number of institutions on the FICE list and 22 percent of the enrollment, which are not traditionally black institutions.

The traditionally black colleges by themselves are entitled to separate and special attention. These are the black-serving institutions which have been historically restricted, and their problems are different from the new public community and junior colleges springing up with generous state and federal support. The question of educational opportunity for minority students in all institutions is, of course, a critical concern. Access to majority institutions will continue to be a major issue. But the institutions which have been deliberately excluded from public and private support over the years present a different and equally important issue to be documented and studied.

2. Each FICE report is apparently based on a different total list of institutions. The report for 1969 does not include a list of the colleges which it considered its universe, although such a list is available on request. The 1970 report does include a list, but it is a different one, and evidently is being revised again for the collection of 1971 data. The list changes according to the percentage enrollments of blacks in institutions each year. **Thus comparative data about increasing support are unreliable, as a stable base of identified institutions has not been maintained.**

* The generally accepted list of traditionally black colleges is found in Appendix C.

3. Although federal officials announced 1970 summary information in October, 1971—sixteen months after the close of the fiscal year—the full FICE document did not appear until June, 1972—two full years after. Summaries of 1971 data are now circulating (affecting 1973 budgetary decisions) although the 1971 report is not expected for another six months. The critical time lag in summarizing data on black college allocations and participation in federal programs militates against realistic policy formulation and decision making. **The FICE report should be available to the public much more promptly.** If the present staff and funds are insufficient to the need, they should be increased accordingly.
4. The FICE data collection process is apparently suspended somewhere between voluntary and mandatory cooperation from federal agencies. There are no penalties for late or inaccurate reporting, and no real obligation to attend FICE meetings. **If FICE represents a genuine commitment to focus and disseminate information on this subject, it needs the authority to command cooperation.**

Federal Policies and Practices Since 1969

The first FICE report was issued in July, 1970, accompanied by announcements of government pride in the significant new level of federal support to black colleges. The response of black college presidents was to speak of indefensible continuing neglect of their needs.

In October, 1970, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot Richardson announced that the Office of Education would make a special allocation for black colleges in view of their importance to educational opportunity and their critical needs. Some \$29 million of federal program funds, authorized but unclaimed, were to be set aside: \$20 million in unused federal construction loan funds, \$5.3 million in the College Work-Study Program, and the rest unspecified.

The eventual disposition of that commitment has never been officially reported.* In fact, several problems soon arose. The construction funds could scarcely be used by black colleges, because they could not find the necessary 25 percent matching funds. Two million dollars of the commitment was apparently honored through grants from the Emergency School Assistance Program, which had some \$15 million dollars to spend between 1970 and 1972 on support for community groups which wished to further school desegregation. The arbitrary shift of these funds from parents and community representatives of minority-group students to the black colleges brought little institutional development and represented no new federal commitment. On the

* The FICE 1970 report refers to the announcement on page one, but gives no other information about it.

whole, the grant announcement of \$29 million in support turned out to be less than significant.

In January, 1971, the President sent an education message to Congress proposing the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1971 and a second bill to create a National Foundation for Higher Education. These two bills presented the Nixon Administration's major higher education themes: a revised student aid plan which would make more money available at lower individual grant limits to a greater number of the lowest-income students, and the establishment of a national center for renewal and reform at the federal level. In the President's message, he included a section as follows:

Special Help for Black Institutions

Colleges and universities founded for black Americans are an indispensable national resource. Despite great handicaps they educate substantial numbers of black Americans, thereby helping to bring about a more rapid transition to an integrated society.

Black institutions are faced with an historic inadequacy of resources. To help these institutions compete for students and faculty with other colleges and universities, the combined help of government at all levels, other institutions of higher learning, and the private sector must be summoned.

This Administration has taken a series of actions to assist these institutions:

- The proposed reform of student aid programs, with its concentration of funds on the neediest students, would significantly aid students at black institutions.
- The National Foundation for Higher Education will direct special efforts toward meeting the needs of black colleges.
- Additional funds for black colleges have been requested for fiscal year 1972 in programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Agriculture.

These legislative proposals of the Administration did not at first rate well in Congress. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate held extensive hearings on the expiring Higher Education Act, and each proposed a different version of new legislation to authorize another five years of support through 1976. Controversial new ideas about student and institutional aid were extensively debated.

In the meantime, the Congressional Black Caucus repeated the needs of the black colleges in its long agenda when it met with President Nixon in the spring of 1971. He replied that he recognized the special needs of black colleges and that "your broad goals are

largely the same as those of the Administration." The Administration, however, stuck to its position that changes in student aid programs, a new national study commission, and increases in Developing Institution program appropriations would be sufficient to deliver necessary support.

Later in the fall of 1971 Secretary Richardson announced that during 1970 federal funds to black colleges had increased 16 percent over the previous year. "This Administration, more than any other, has demonstrated concern for the future of Black colleges. It has backed up its concern with money."

Obviously there is a continuing need for the black colleges as the only means available to large numbers of poor black students.

—Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
Elliot Richardson, May, 1971

The White House and HEW have made it a point to issue statements in support of black colleges in various forums over the past year. They have also made it a point to criticize black Congressional leaders for voting against their student aid proposals, which most black college administrators felt would be more beneficial to the colleges, during the debate on the higher education amendments. Robert Brown of the White House staff said to a NAFEOHE meeting, "The only comment I can make after this bitter experience is that I hope that those standards that you and other leaders who happen to be black might use to judge this Administration be applied also to the Congress."

One recent additional gesture was made at the end of 1971, when Mr. Brown announced that HEW, OEO and the Department of Agriculture would provide funds to make possible the acquisition of \$4 million worth of government surplus and excess property for the black land grant colleges.

The first of your accomplishments is that you have so brilliantly and effectively presented your case for the continued existence of black institutions of higher learning. There now exists little argument that these institutions have won the right to their own unique development. . . . In short, the black colleges are off the defensive. The case has been made.

—Robert Brown, November, 1971

The Administration claims pride in the increasing amount of money flowing to black colleges. A recent press release from the White House stated that in fiscal year 1973 (under an Administration budget request not yet approved by Congress) "more than \$200 million will be expended on aid to predominantly black colleges—more than double the 1969 expenditure."

This Administration does not for one moment reflect on whether predominantly black institutions are worth saving. This simply is not an issue. What we are determined to do is to help them flourish.

—Commissioner of Education
Sidney Marland, April, 1972

These predictions were evidently based on expectations of new legislation as well as Congressional appropriations in line with Administration requests. In fact, a compromise higher education bill became law in June, 1972, incorporating new forms of institutional aid and student aid and other changes which should prove beneficial to black colleges. This bill is discussed in later chapters. And most recently, concurrent with the final passage of the bill, the FICE 1970 report has been published, providing new data for analysis and discussion.

The Numbers Game

Government spokesmen use overall percentage figures when talking about federal aid to black colleges. The FICE reports emphasize total percentages of aid, and total increases from year to year. When Secretary Richardson announced the preliminary 1970 data, he pointed out that black colleges received 3.4 percent of federal aid in that year, while enrolling 2.06 percent of the college students in the country. The clear implication was that they were thus getting somewhat more than an equitable share of national support.

It is well to bear in mind that until 1960 black colleges got virtually no federal aid at all; until 1967 or 1968 they did not receive even the percentage which an enrollment comparison might justify. The government has recently departed in a small degree from the patterns of the past, thus reducing the indictment against government policy without significantly reducing the consequences of that policy.

When the need is for significant catch-up funds, even the anticipated \$200 million for 1973 divided by more than 100 institutions is not impressive. The President has proposed a higher education budget of \$7 billion for 1973, compared to \$4 billion in 1969. In that context,

raising the black college share from \$108 million to \$200 million does not represent a meaningful change in priorities.

Equally important, the comparative implication is hardly relevant. Federal aid to education has never been based on student enrollment. It makes little sense for most programs, and no sense at all when speaking of programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity for the poor. The comparison is particularly irrelevant to institutions which have been discriminated against for a century and which now require compensatory funds to make up for that injustice.

Black college participation in federal programs is certainly increasing, and dollar totals to black colleges, as to all colleges, are rising. But the real issue is what kind of aid, and compared to what.

As the FICE 1970 document points out, black colleges received more than \$47 million in student aid funds in that year out of their total of \$125.5 million. The fact that these institutions can claim increasing amounts of student aid (although they are not even getting a share proportionate to their service*) is a reflection of the large number of scholarship students they enroll. They are receiving that support because they are carrying out the national goal of providing educational opportunity to poor students. They performed that role before there was federal help to do so, and are continuing to do so. But one cannot run a college on student aid, and the FICE report illustrates how much federal support for black colleges comes from this source: in 1970, they received 45 percent of their federal dollar in this form, compared to 21 percent for colleges and universities in general.

There is one major source of federal compensatory and institution-building funds found in the Developing Institutions program, Title III of the 1965 Higher Education Act. This program accounted for \$17 million of the black college total in 1970, and is a critical and flexible source of support needing much larger appropriations.

When these two sources of aid directly targeted to low-income students and unendowed institutions are removed from the equation, a very different picture of federal support emerges. In all other programs for 1969, using FICE data, the percent of federal funds flowing to black colleges was 1.61; for 1970, the figure rose to 1.95 percent.

The 1970 FICE report and other government commentary seem to accept that such a large part of the support should come through a combination of student aid and the modest Developing Institutions program. But nearly half of all federal support for other institutions of higher education comes from the major research and development agencies, not from HEW. The FICE 1970 report indicates that black colleges received only 0.3 percent of national R & D funds and states, "This is explained by the fact that the black colleges are largely undergraduate, and few have the laboratories, specialized facilities, and research personnel which enable them to compete against more

* See Chapter 4, pp. 29-30.

developed institutions. . . . This should change as graduate departments and facilities develop." Since research facilities, and much graduate school equipment, have been massively supplied by federal funds in other institutions over the years, one has to ask who will develop the black college facilities?

The assumption of federal officials seems to be that increases in student aid are necessary and should continue, although they understand that such funds are insufficient support for institutions which lack endowments. The institution-building support which they need will then come from Title III. Other agencies and programs need not be changed in respect to black colleges.

The assumption of this report is that every agency and program should be examined on its own terms, to discover whatever legislative or administrative inequities may exist. Discussions of total percentages obscure many issues, and dollar amounts do not reveal administrative practices.

The chapters which follow examine federal aid to higher education from a variety of sources: the basic HEW programs, science agencies, the Department of Agriculture, and the National Institutes of Health. Although the compass is still too brief to be more than suggestive, and no effort has been made to do new factual research beyond the FICE data and interviews with agency officials, the broad range of problems is clear.

Chapter 4

HEW: Support for Teaching and Learning

Any institution—black or white—involved in the education of black Americans knows that a large percentage of black students suffer from inadequate preparation. They have basic education needs in the area of fundamental skills—reading, writing, speaking, and knowing how to study. For black institutions this is no new problem. The education system for blacks didn't start getting bad just last year. It's been bad all along.

—James Cheek, President, Howard University, 1972

The constellation of **basic education programs** is the most important source of federal funds for the black colleges, as for all undergraduate instructional institutions. With two exceptions, this support dates from 1965; so the history is brief.

Basic programs include student aid, construction aid, land grant college instructional aid, aid to developing institutions, aid in library development, faculty development, and instructional equipment. Some of the educational programs of the Arts and Humanities Endowment can also be considered in this central group of support programs.

Together these programs represent less than a quarter of all federal support for institutions of higher education. Government sponsored grants for research and service programs still far outweigh support for instructional improvement. However, the importance of this group of

SELECTED FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS: 1969 AND 1970
(in thousands of dollars)

	1969		
	Black College Grants	Total Grants	Percent to Black Colleges
Student Aid			
Economic Opportunity Grants	\$13,932	\$144,287	9.7
Work/Study Grants	14,666	143,434	10.2
Cooperative Education		n.a.	
NDSL (undergraduate loans)	10,745	185,887	5.8
Construction Support			
Undergraduate Facilities Grants	5,942	216,292	2.7
Graduate Facilities Grants	148	25,576	.6
Developing Institutions	15,823	30,000	52.7
Land Grant College			
Instructional Aid	1,398	14,550	9.6
Faculty Development (EPDA)	491	6,900	7.1
Library Assistance	736	24,900	3.0
Instructional Equipment	464	14,500	3.2
National Endowment for the Arts	37	526	7.0
National Endowment for the Humanities	286	2,732	10.5
	\$64,668	\$809,584	8.0
Student Aid			
		1970	
Economic Opportunity Grants	\$17,249.4	\$164,600	10.5
Work/Study Grants	18,894.0	156,986	12.0
Cooperative Education	750.0	1,540	48.7
NDSL (undergraduate loans)	11,218.2	188,785.0	5.9
Construction Support			
Undergraduate Facilities Grants	1,084.0	73,162	1.5
Graduate Facilities Grants	0.0	405	.0
Developing Institutions	17,013.7	30,000	56.7
Land Grant College			
Instructional Aid	1,431.3	14,720	9.7
Faculty Development (EPDA)	955.4	5,000	19.1
	146.0	5,000	2.9
Library Assistance	408.0	13,785	3.0
Instructional Equipment		n.a.	
National Endowment for the Arts	33.0	367.4	9.0
National Endowment for the Humanities	291.6	4,775.5	6.1
	\$69,474.6	\$659,125.9	10.5

Source: FICE 1969 Report and 1970 Report

programs to the black colleges is very great. **Although funds for basic education programs equal only a quarter of the federal funds to all colleges, more than half of the federal funds flowing to black colleges come from this source.**

Many of these programs are by legislative intent or administrative practice directed to the needs of disadvantaged students, and to equalizing educational opportunity. **In this context, the \$65 million allocated to black colleges in 1969 and \$69 million in 1970 does not yet represent a sufficient commitment.**

A. STUDENT AID

Student scholarships are currently the single most important source of federal support to black colleges. The most visible programs are the Educational Opportunity Grants, Work/Study Grants, and National Defense Student Loans, all administered by the Office of Education. These are the only student aid programs which the 1969 FICE report lists, although the 1970 report includes some tentative analysis of veterans benefits to students enrolled at black colleges.

We will also focus in this report on an analysis of these programs, but it should first be understood that there are many more federal subsidies for students: income tax exemption for families of college students, social security payments for children of deceased, disabled or retired workers while they are enrolled in college, and veterans educational benefits. Since these federal funds flow directly to students or their parents, federal policies determine only indirectly their institutional impact. **But it should be noted that in the aggregate these subsidies represent a far greater federal investment in student aid than do the equal opportunity programs discussed in this chapter. And it can be demonstrated that the combined effect of all these federal subsidies is not in favor of students from low-income families.***

The Distribution of Low-Income Students

Before looking at the various federal student aid programs that are disbursed through institutions, a major point needs to be re-emphasized. First, the black colleges currently receive more than \$47 million from this source, some 45 percent of all their federal support. About \$36 million comes from undergraduate scholarships and work/study payments which are specifically intended to equalize educational opportunity for low-income students. The degree to which black colleges should participate in these programs is not determined by the percentage of total college enrollment which they serve; it is determined by the percentage of **eligible** students which they serve.

* David S. Mundel, *Federal Aid to Higher Education*, Harvard University, unpublished doctoral dissertation, December, 1971.

It is notable that the Office of Education, charged with the administration of federal student aid programs and equipped with a large educational research apparatus, has never published information about the distribution of such eligible students nationally by institution, or any analysis of the degree to which federal aid follows that distribution.

From some preliminary original research carried out for this paper, it appears that **black colleges enroll about 17 percent of the nation's low-income students eligible for federal scholarships.*** Those colleges received 9.7 percent of the EOG funds in 1969 and 10.5 percent in 1970, according to the FICE reports. Thus the large increases in black college participation in student aid, while important, do not even yet reflect the degree to which they enroll eligible students. And a further case may be made that colleges which enroll such large numbers of low-income students, with the attendant burden of high costs and low tuition income, deserve more than a proportionally exact share of such funds. The new Education Amendments of 1972 reflect a first commitment to such an approach, through the formula for institutional aid.

National Defense Student Loans (NDSL)

This is the oldest federal student aid program for undergraduates, growing out of national concern for improved science education in the late 50's. Students may borrow up to \$1,000 a year for five years, with some qualifications and variations, based on demonstrated financial need. Forgiveness provisions favor those who teach poor children following their college education. Funds are distributed through the colleges, which must provide 10 percent of the total loan pool.

The NDSL program has worked some benefit to poor students in general; half of the recipients from 1966 to 1970 came from families with incomes under \$6,000. But the mechanism for distribution of funds does not give priority to these students or to the institutions which primarily serve them.

- The state allotment formula is based on the ratio of college students in the state to all college students, thus disadvantaging Southern states with a generally higher proportion of poor students, and most of the black colleges.
- Another problem for black colleges is the required contribution of 10 percent of the program's capital.
- The biggest factor in directing these funds to middle-income students and better financed institutions is their distribution within states and within institutions. A regional HEW panel reviews institutional requests within a state, based on their calculation of need. Expensive colleges may of course define

* This figure was obtained by using data from American Council of Education and Institute for Services to Education samples, which produce widely varying results. The derived estimate of 17 percent may prove to be a conservative figure for black colleges' enrollment of low-income students as a part of the national total.

student need relative to their tuition, and use loan funds higher up the family income scale.

According to the FICE documents, black colleges received 5.8 percent of NDSL loan capital contribution in 1969 and 5.9 percent in 1970.

Guaranteed Loan Program

In 1965 Congress initiated another loan program to provide guarantees and interest subsidies through state loan agencies. Again, the program was chiefly designed to help middle-income students, although about a third of the borrowers before 1967 were evidently from families with incomes under \$9,000. Data are not available to indicate the impact on black colleges.

In 1969, for example, the average family income of students in the thirty-four predominantly black publicly supported colleges was below \$4,000.

—Andrew F. Brimmer, *Daedalus*, 1971

Educational Opportunity Grants

The program most specifically aimed at low-income students, and providing direct scholarships for the first time, is the EOG program established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and transferred into the Higher Education Act of 1965.

For the black colleges this is a critical source of support, as they have been subsidizing their students heavily for years through low tuitions. The Carnegie Commission, for instance, states that private black colleges subsidize their students at a rate one and one-half times that of private white colleges, so determined have they been to enroll and educate poor students even at great cost to their financial stability.

Several constraints have affected black colleges: (1) eligible students must be making regular progress toward the degree, and thus cannot benefit while they participate in initial compensatory programs; (2) eligible students must be enrolled full time; (3) students must be receiving twice as much aid from other sources. In addition to these structural problems, black colleges have often in the past secured lower levels of approved requests than their student eligibility warrants, because of difficulties in documenting student need and lack of rapport with regional HEW offices.* Some of these constraints are changed by

* Eoin Trevelyan, *Report on the 1968-69 Program of the Financial Aid Advisory Service*, (Mimeo.), Atlanta, 1969.

the new higher education legislation, notably the matching fund requirement.

The FICE reports indicate that 9.7 percent of the Educational Opportunity Grants went to students in black colleges in 1969 and 10.5 percent in 1970.

In one group of private colleges with which I am associated, more than 80 percent of the students were receiving financial assistance in order to remain in college, and about 70 percent of students came from families earning less than \$7,500.

—Herman Long, President, Talladega College, 1971

Work/Study Grants

The federal government also subsidizes part-time jobs for needy students through the Work/Study program, originally designed in OEO legislation and transferred to the Office of Education in 1965. The formula here is more beneficial to states with higher percentages of poor students, and the funds are somewhat more directly aimed at the poorest students. But the utility of the funds to black colleges is again limited by full-time enrollment requirements and the necessity for institutional matching funds, provisions which are removed by the new higher education legislation.

Many black college representatives argue that Work/Study funds are not a viable form of student aid for under-prepared poor students who need to concentrate on their studies. Nevertheless, these colleges spent 10 percent of the funds in this program in 1969 and 12 percent in 1970.

Cooperative Education

This small but interesting program began in 1970, using 1 percent of the original Work/Study authorization for the development of cooperative education programs.

Cooperative education enables colleges to sponsor programs which alternate academic study with periods of off-campus employment. These arrangements, exemplified by Antioch College's well-known program, give students an opportunity to earn money, to experiment with future employment possibilities, and to try practical application of academic work which in turn enriches the subsequent study.

For colleges which serve low-income and minority students, this program is especially useful. It provides an organized way for students

to earn money in academically enriching ways which do not compete with their study time. It also gives access to various new career openings for black college graduates, and provides an avenue for activism which appeals to many young black students without jeopardizing their progress toward academic accomplishment.

However, such programs place expensive new burdens on colleges, which must invest in new staff to manage such responsibility, and must frequently undertake an institution-wide reorganization of schedules, faculty deployment, housing use, and other resources.

The Cooperative Education Program helps institutions undertake that development if they wish, with special priority to programs serving students from educationally and economically deprived backgrounds, and additional priority to two-year urban institutions. During the first year (1970) a special series of 35 grants was given to black colleges for planning and feasibility studies—nearly half the total institutional grants.

In the second year of the program (1971) grants of \$683,000 were made to 39 black colleges, averaging \$17,500 each. This represented 43 percent of the total \$1,600,000 allocation. The new legislation authorizes continuation of this program.

* * *

The fundamental issues of student aid have been extensively debated in respect to the Higher Education Act Amendments. **If equal educational opportunity for poor and under-prepared students is to be a national priority, the institutions which have a record of serving such students need a larger government subsidy. Colleges which subsidize so large a proportion of their student body, and which have existed so long with minimal resources, need a disproportionate share of national resources to do the job.**

B. CONSTRUCTION OF COLLEGE FACILITIES

Funds for construction are generally divided into two categories: first, improvement of plant for research (grants which have over the years included billions for building everything from air-conditioned chicken coops to cyclotrons), and second, general construction (classrooms and dormitories).

Research Plant

Congresses which would never have approved funds directly for higher education cheerfully authorized vast sums in the name of science, agriculture and technology research over the years, raising buildings on major campuses throughout the country.

The Public Health Service began supporting construction of health related facilities in 1956 at the rate of some \$30 million a year; by now it spends about \$170 million each year. Since 1960 the National Science Foundation has helped institutions to build scientific research facilities at the rate of about \$60 million a year. NSF reports for 1963 a total of federally supported research and development construction of \$105.9 million, rising to \$114.8 million in 1966. That expansive enterprise in which black colleges never participated is illuminated by the accompanying table:

**FEDERAL SUPPORT TO HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CONSTRUCTION**

(in thousands of dollars)

Program name	Estimated obligations	
	1966	1967
Grants for acquisition of equipment,		
Office of Education	\$ 15,000	\$ 14,500
Library assistance, Office of		
Education/Public Health Service	10,000	35,500
Research facilities and equipment,		
Office of Education	20,000	12,400
Health professions teaching		
facilities, Public Health Service	106,792	160,000
Health related facilities, Public		
Health Service	65,310	25,000
Gallaudet College-Howard University,		
Department of Health, Education,		
and Welfare	5,493	10,043
Agricultural research facilities,		
Department of Agriculture	2,000	0
Colleges in territories, dependencies,		
Departments of Defense/Interior	1,454	696
Center for Cultural and Technical		
Interchange, Department of State	0	250
Nuclear training equipment, Atomic		
Energy Commission	1,528	949
Specialized facilities, National		
Aeronautics and Space Administration	8,000	7,000
Specialized research facilities,		
National Science Foundation	27,600	30,000
Institutional science program grants,		
National Science Foundation	39,100	24,000
	<u>\$302,277</u>	<u>\$320,338</u>

Source: Students and Buildings, Planning Paper 68-2, Office of Education, 1968.

Academic Construction

More general academic construction aid dates back to the days of the New Deal's Works Progress Administration, when state universities were helped to build facilities as a by-product of depression unemployment. Later, at the end of World War II, the federal government disposed of large amounts of surplus property: prefabricated barracks and quonset huts decorated many campuses.

With the end of the war and the beginning of the G.I. Bill, college housing shortages became acute. In spite of federal investments in closing the science gap and in Cold War research, other parts of the academic community were crumbling. In the Housing Act of 1950 Congress took a cautious step toward outright federal higher education support.

The College Housing Program (1950)

Title IV of the Housing Act authorized the Housing and Home Finance Agency (later HUD) to provide colleges and universities with construction loan principal. During 21 years of operation, the program has loaned \$4 billion for dormitories, dining facilities and "student service" buildings.

The caution with which this step was taken determined the business-like operation which followed. The government was to make low (but standard) interest rate loans, and to discourage default or considerations of special need. Loans were to be self-liquidating, paid for out of the buildings' subsequent revenue. At first no funds were appropriated at all because of the Korean War; later funds were released only when a college could demonstrate housing shortages due to defense related incursion on their normal housing resources.

These initial constrictions soon disappeared, but other factors precluded the black colleges from participation in CHP:

- One was the early regionalizing of program administration. Historically federal officials in Atlanta and Dallas were not likely to treat black applicants with equity.
- Further, the black colleges (and all colleges catering to poor students) could not demonstrate that any dormitory, cafeteria, infirmary or student union would be truly self-liquidating.
- Heavy insurance requirements plus the need for a debt service reserve fund virtually excluded small and poor institutions.
- Black colleges were rarely able to offer prime security or references considered adequate by white lending institutions.

It might be noted in passing that nothing in the law prevented colleges receiving these loans from discriminating racially in their dormitories and enrollments, so that in Southern states stronger segregated institutions were able to absorb most of the funds.

Some would say that black colleges were lucky not to get further in debt through this program; many a white college is today sinking under the burden of construction loan debts for dorms neglected by students. **But any program which gave funds for the expansion of other colleges at the expense of the black colleges added to their disadvantage, and to the lack of options for their students.**

In 1968, the pattern of this program began to change. First, the application system was revised so that priorities and ratings were newly competitive each year. Second, private college applications were given more weight because of their difficulties in securing loans on the open market. Next, in 1969, the guidelines for the first time gave priority to colleges enrolling large numbers of low-income students, as well as colleges with innovative building plans. And finally, black colleges were added to the priority list in 1971.

Along with this change in direction came a new grant program to fund debt service costs. CHP encourages private market loan subsidies, although it still provides loan principal when eligible colleges are unable to secure money in the open market.

The record of CHP in its early years is somewhat difficult to ascertain, but the total participation of black colleges during 21 years seems to be as follows:

From its inception, CHP has provided (directly or through paying the difference in interest rates for private loans) 3,301 loans with a total principal close to \$4 billion. Sixty-eight black colleges have secured 171 of those loans: seventy to public colleges and 101 to private colleges. The total principal loaned to black colleges to 1971 was \$157,624,000. Black four-year accredited colleges account for 5 percent of the number of loans, 4 percent of the principal, up to 1971.

Thirteen black colleges have secured multiple loan agreements whose total exceeds \$4 million, about half of them public and half private. Eleven debt service grants out of a national total of 144 have gone to black colleges—a rather high percentage in light of their difficulty in negotiating private loans.

Today, any financially stable black college is fairly certain of securing a CHP loan if it applies. For better or for worse, they are now high on the priority list, although there are still a few private black colleges which cannot meet the minimal financial standards.

Higher Education Facilities Act (1963)

Thirteen years after the start of the College Housing Loan Program Congress, in quite a different frame of mind, passed the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. National acceptance of federal dollars in higher education had virtually arrived, along with dismay over the escalating cost of an expanding higher education system aggravated by enrollment pressures of the 1950's.

The intent of Congress was clearly broader, more generous; as a result HEFA is more subsidizing. The administration of this program, located in the Office of Education rather than the housing agency, is more concerned with educational opportunity than a banker's security.

This Act authorizes grants covering up to half of construction costs of approved projects, the remainder to be matched by the grantee institution. It earmarks a fixed portion (now 24 percent) of the available funds for projects at public community colleges and technical schools. All proposals for grants are channeled through a specially designated commission in each state, and given priority rating according to guidelines drawn up by each state and approved by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Various state commissions have been handsomely funded over the years to cover their administrative costs. Prior to passage of the Act, with its requisite "state plan," many states had never assessed the status and needs of their institutions of higher education. The allotment of federal funds to each state for academic facilities construction is based on a formula related to student population.

Other titles of this Act provide grants for graduate school facilities, loans, and most recently, grants to cover that part of private loan interest above 3 percent. By combining the latter with a HEFA grant, a college can reduce its portion of matching funds to only 10 percent of the total construction cost.

Appropriations for this Act fell off sharply after the first few years. In 1966 federal funds provided 15 percent of all construction outlays to institutions of higher education. Some \$527 million in graduate and undergraduate grants were made in that year. By 1967 HEFA had provided about 300,000 new student places. In 1971 Congress reduced total appropriations to \$43 million, mostly earmarked for public community and technical colleges.

a) HEFA Loans

Almost all institutions which received HEFA loans also received HEFA grants. The loan program is administered by HEW regional officers.

In the years of the program from 1965 to 1971, over \$500 million in principal was loaned to 1,073 projects at 750 institutions. An annual interest grant program to subsidize private lending began in 1970, and already supports over \$700 million dollars in additional principal. The loan program has been important, in spite of diminishing appropriations.

The black colleges should have done well in this program, since in the last two of its six years it was operating under a Presidential directive to give black colleges exceptional priority, including a special reservation of \$20 million in recovered funds exclusively for black colleges. Much of this money went unclaimed, however, because of the difficulty of securing either private loans or matching funds of 25 percent.

In fact, black colleges secured only 3 percent of the annual interest grants subsidizing private market loans for 1970 and 1971. In that same two-year period, they accounted for 52 percent of the direct loan principal, a share which brought their overall percentage up to 4 percent of the six year total. At the moment, then, the HEFA loan support is about the same as the College Housing Program's, in spite of favorable priorities and a special reservation of funds.

b) HEFA Grants

The HEFA grant program is also administered regionally, after initial decisions on applicants are made by the state commissions. State allocations are based on a ratio of the states' college population to the nation's, combined with the ratio of the states' high school population to the nation's. That formula gives no advantage to poor states or poor students. The maximum funding allowed for grants is 50 percent of the total cost of the project at the beginning, although larger colleges were generally awarded a lower percentage of their total cost.

HEFA grants for construction projects in the nation's non-community colleges totaled \$1.2 billion from 1965-1971. Here is the construction program of most potential value to black colleges, and yet it is one with a fairly brief life, descending from an annual grant total of \$351 million in 1966 to \$4 million in 1971.

Black colleges have only received 3 percent of these funds, perhaps because the program is largely in the hands of state commissions and regional offices. Presidential directives at the federal level are apparently not applicable to this process. The program has also been subject to pressures from the state universities' investments in a vast array of satellite campuses—multiversities—during this period. Most important of all, the matching requirement lays too heavy a burden on black colleges.

For the most part federal construction legislation and authorities are not focused on the special needs of black colleges for renewing their inadequate facilities. Large sums for research facilities give a distinct advantage to major universities in comparison to undergraduate instructional institutions. Housing loans, with their intended liquidation through student fees, and facilities loans, with their similar lengthy burden of debt service, are of no more use to black colleges than to many of their white counterparts who find themselves in increasingly untenable debt situations.

HEFA grants for facilities account for only a tiny fraction of the whole federal construction investment; of that tiny fraction only 3 percent has thus far gone to black colleges.

The Carnegie Commission suggests that federal construction grants and loans each be increased for black colleges to \$25 million annually for the next decade, a major multiplication of existing resources. A commitment on this scale, with heavy emphasis on direct grants and direct loans rather than interest payment on private loans,

would be most useful. The 1972 legislation offers a waiver of matching requirements for construction funds for black colleges, and authorizes significant new funds. If adequate appropriations are voted, these institutions will have an opportunity to renovate and make functional the deteriorating plant they now have, and to accommodate the many additional students who need them.

C. LAND GRANT COLLEGE INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT

The oldest basic education funds derive from the land grant college acts, although the story of the land grant colleges is largely a story of the research and extension funds for those colleges administered by the Department of Agriculture, and is dealt with in Chapter 7.

There have been since 1935, however, substantial instructional support funds administered by the Office of Education, about \$14 million a year to support instruction in a broad range of subjects. In 1970 the Administration attempted to reduce those funds, stating that such institutional assistance to a particular group of colleges was no longer justified by the need for agricultural development as a national priority. Congress restored a budget of \$14 million in that year, but in each year since there has been a similar argument. The Administration has again proposed reducing the sum to \$2.5 million for FY 1973.

For the black land grant colleges, which receive a total of more than \$1 million annually through this program, the funds represent an important support. They have used their influence in Congress to retain the program, as they cannot afford to support a "rationalization" of federal programs at such great detriment to their own survival.

D. DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS PROGRAM TITLE III — HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

In 1965 a special program was established by the Higher Education Act to serve the needs of developing institutions by "strengthening their academic, administrative and student services." **After student aid funds, it is the second largest source of Federal grants for black colleges.**

Title III was in fact originally designed for black colleges. But in the course of legislative history the compass was broadened to include all institutions:

... which have the desire and potential to make a substantial contribution to the higher education resources of our Nation but which for financial and other reasons are struggling for survival and are isolated from the main currents of academic life.

One of the basic policy determinations affecting this Act has been the reservation of nearly one quarter of the funds for junior colleges, in response to strong representation from this constituency.

Grants are made to assist weaker institutions to narrow the gap with stronger ones through cooperative arrangements which "draw upon the resources of assisting organizations, agencies, business entities and institutions of higher education." Other support is available in the form of National Teaching Fellowships and Professors Emeriti appointments, both of which provide special teaching staff to developing institutions to fill temporary needs.

Early in the program the Office of Education established the eligibility of all black colleges, provided they were either accredited or making "reasonable progress" toward it. Virtually all black undergraduate institutions now participate. Applicant colleges must provide detailed institutional data to the Office of Education, which administers the program directly. **Title III has become a focus for information and development ideas about black colleges. Its funds are the most significantly flexible of all federal aid.**

Early in the program most cooperation was arranged between black colleges and white universities (such as Tuskegee and Michigan or Tougaloo and Brown), arrangements which supplied curricular and planning assistance as well as an exchange of personnel and students.

Cooperative arrangements have now evolved almost entirely into consortia of black colleges themselves. The largest such effort is a grant of \$2 million in 1971 to a technical assistance program called TACTICS, a group of six consortia providing on-campus services for improved management, accounting and record-keeping systems for member colleges, improved admissions and financial aid procedures, instructional reform, academic leadership training, data collection, and library administration. TACTICS, like many other Title III related efforts over the years, also tries to provide greater involvement of black colleges in federal funding.

Black colleges are exerting continuing pressure to increase Title III appropriations, which have remained at \$30,000,000 since 1967. For 1972 the Administration requested an additional \$15 million, but Congress did not appropriate it. In the current appropriations request for fiscal 1973, not yet enacted, the Administration has asked for \$100 million.

Title III funds represent a critical area of black college support; they received \$17 million from this source in 1970. There is currently some effort to force participating institutions to abide by uniform criteria of productivity, regardless of development needs. But the great value of these funds lies in their flexibility, and black colleges give high priority to the expansion of this program.

E. LIBRARY FUNDS TITLE II — HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Library needs of all kinds are a prime concern of black colleges. Sub-standard collections, particularly in the smaller private colleges,

have frequently barred them from accreditation. They have survived for years on random donations and uneven development, and even some of the unique and priceless historic archives that many of them hold remain uncatalogued.

But college libraries in general have also been found wanting. The American Library Association labelled 73 percent of all four-year institutions and 90 percent of two-year institutions sub-standard in 1963. This national concern was the origin of Title II of the Higher Education Act in 1965, but in spite of splendid language about enabling institutions to overcome deficiencies, the obligations have only ranged from \$8.4 million to \$24.5 million in the six years of the program.

Since 1966 there have been 10,355 Title II awards totalling \$92 million. Eleven million books have been purchased; other resource material has been added to libraries; fellowships for advanced library degrees have been established; short institutes for librarians are held everywhere, all the time; consortia have forced libraries to cooperate. But that is not much money to spread over 2,200 institutions.

Title II of the Act authorizes several grant programs: basic grants of \$5,000 to each campus each year which require 100 percent matching funds; supplemental grants based on the number of students and (until 1970) the number of graduate programs that a school had (thus favoring large public universities); and special purpose awards to fund special quality programs, to meet special needs, or to support consortia of libraries.

At first, black colleges participated equitably in the basic grant program, very little in the supplemental grant program, and not at all in the special purpose awards. In the last category, for example, although the University of Minnesota received \$40,000 to develop its Asia library ("the only source of such material between Chicago and the West Coast"), no black colleges were funded for special collections.

However, new priorities for Title II-A funds were set in 1971:

Basic Grants are targeted to disadvantaged institutions. Supplemental Grants are targeted to disadvantaged institutions with volume deficiencies. Priority for Special Purpose Grants goes to institutions located in Model Cities Areas and those having extensive collections of relevance to national priorities: the Right to Read, environmental education, drug abuse education; and combinations in which junior and community colleges are included.

—College Library Resources Program Announcement, 1971

Funding continues at the \$9.9 million level, but grants now concentrate on the "neediest" colleges. Therefore, only 606 grants, one-quarter of the earlier number, were made for 1971. It can be seen from the table on page 43 that black colleges are now getting more; their grants averaged \$16,000 in 1971.

Twenty-two black colleges participated in Special Purpose Grant consortia in 1971, and a dozen additional black institutions received one of the individual Special Purpose Grants in that year.

Institutes and Fellowships

Title II-B is the smaller part of the library legislation. It authorizes institutes in librarianship and fellowships in library education at the graduate level. Black colleges have only marginal participation in this program.

Lasting from a few weeks to a year, institutes are short term specific sessions to provide in-service training for all kinds of library personnel. In the years from 1966 to 1971, black colleges were funded for 16 institutes out of a total of 293, or 5.4 percent. In 1971, however, with the revised emphasis on urban problems and colleges serving low-income students, six out of 38 went to black colleges, including one to Alabama A & M for a six week session on "training librarianship for drug education" and one to Atlanta University for a year long institute for public librarians on "public library service to the urban disadvantaged."

Fellowships have been an even leaner source of black college support, although figures are not available on the number of black college faculty who received advanced training in other universities through this program. The only black college which offers graduate library training is Atlanta University, which received grants totalling \$272,760 in the years from 1966 to 1970.

Research and Program Development

At the outset of Title II, a library research component was established in the Office of Education, awarding contracts for research into new technology, services and the training of librarians. In 1970 there were four projects that related to research for the problems of delivering information services to the disadvantaged. In 1971 there were five; one went to a black school. One received a research grant in 1971: North Carolina Central University, \$53,265 for "Identification and Coordination of African-American Materials in Six States."

The amount of money granted to black colleges through library legislation has totalled about \$4.6 million, most of it requiring matching funds from the institution. This was far too little to overcome deficiencies in more than 100 institutions.

In the basic program, black college participation rose from 2.8 percent to 11.1 percent by 1971. In the institute and fellowship program they received 9.8 percent of 1971 grants as opposed to 3 percent in 1969. There is thus evidence that with the new emphasis on Model Cities and the disadvantaged, black colleges have improved their relative participation. Mechanisms already exist for real strengthening of the libraries of this group of colleges through federal funds. The current amendments to the legislation provide waivers for the matching requirement, but without considerably increased appropriations, black colleges will never catch up.

TITLE II-A LIBRARY RESOURCES GRANTS

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Total Grants	\$24,500,000	\$24,500,000	\$24,900,000	\$9,816,000	\$9,900,000
Total Institutions Participating	78	82	86	85	69
Grants to Black Colleges	\$770,657	\$697,390	\$736,468	\$291,589	\$1,113,313
Percentage of Total	3.1%	2.8%	2.9%	2.8%	11.1%
Average Grant to Black Colleges	\$9,880	\$8,504	\$8,563	\$3,406	\$16,134
Average Grant (Total)		\$12,316	\$13,000	\$4,455	\$16,336

F. INSTRUCTIONAL EQUIPMENT

Since 1965, federal money has been available through the Higher Education Act to acquire "instructional equipment and materials"—part support for laboratory and similar hardware, part for closed-circuit TV equipment.

Despite an authorization of \$60 million, Title VI-A funds have been appropriated from \$7 million to \$15 million through the years, except for 1970 when there were none at all. Money is distributed to states by a formula based on full-time student enrollment. Black colleges are now participating at less than their student enrollment percentage: in 1971 they received \$132,000 of \$7,000,000, less than 2 percent. That was down from 3.2 percent in 1969.

State commissions (normally the same body appointed to oversee construction funds) announce deadlines, approve applications, fit them into a state plan framework and send them to Washington. In 1971 the states sent in about \$18 million in approved requests for the \$7 million total. Grants average about \$10,000 on a matching basis, and require maintenance of previous fiscal effort.

The traditional school is labor-intensive; it has neither tools nor capital equipment . . . We have relied on labor, which meant that the teacher's convenience had to be imposed on the entire class. Yet teachers were both underpaid and under-used. American education tomorrow will require a great deal more by way of tools than we have had.

—Peter Drucker, "School Around the Bend,"
Psychology Today, June, 1972

Office of Education Title VI-A officials report no special priority to black colleges, and are not aware of any special representation by them at the state level. They are interested in junior and community colleges, in high enrollment institutions where machinery can extend limited faculty at less cost, although there is little evidence that educational technology works well for low-income and under-prepared students. Drop-out rates for high enrollment public colleges are traditionally high.*

Nevertheless, the new Amendments of 1972 emphasize the need for more experimentation and technology, and authorize money to train people to handle new equipment. The new Act also authorizes a waiver of the matching requirement for developing institutions in this program.

* Astin and Lee, *The Invisible Colleges*, 1972.

Black colleges, for better or worse, will have an increased opportunity to buy into this technology, if they develop the necessary rapport with state commissions. Their financial problems may make it necessary to try out new equipment in order to survive the institutional competition even at the risk of other teaching patterns that have made them effective in retaining and educating their students in the past.

G. FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

Black college faculty salaries are well below national averages, as American Association of University Professors reports continually document. Even in 1971 Southern states pay lower salary scales at public black colleges than public white colleges, particularly in the upper professional ranges. Private colleges have inadequate resources to pay competitive salaries. In addition, the number of faculty who can reach upper salary levels is limited by the historic discrimination which excluded many from university doctoral programs, and by the economic cost of advanced degrees for low-income scholars.

The federal government can only correct inequities of comparative salary scales in state institutions through civil rights legislation enforcement. **There has never been a federal program to support basic faculty salary needs in any institution. There are several ways, however, in which faculty training opportunities are expanded by federal funds.**

- Through Title III arrangements, a National Teaching Fellow or Professor Emeritus can be provided at government expense to cover the teaching duties of a faculty member while he pursues graduate work at his regular salary level. Also through Title III many in-service training programs for groups of faculty at different colleges are proving very successful in introducing new teaching methods and curricular ideas.
- A second program is available through a section of the Education Professions Development Act of 1968. Nearly \$5 million a year is allocated under this program, with priority to preparation of teachers for junior colleges and teachers of economically disadvantaged students. Because these funds go to university graduate programs, which in turn administer the fellowships to individuals, it is difficult to measure their impact on black college personnel precisely. Of sixty institutions included in 72-73 programs, Atlanta University and Texas Southern University have been given large grants. In 1969, black colleges received 7.7 percent of the grant funds for fellowships and in-service training institutes. In 1970, the Office of Education estimated that about one-fifth of the funds were actually spent to benefit personnel of black institutions.
- A third source of faculty training is provided through NDEA graduate fellowships. While this is basically student aid, it is

a program designed to increase the supply of trained teachers for colleges. Again, like EPDA doctoral awards, the actual participation of black college faculty in the NDEA program is impossible to measure. Only Howard University received NDEA funds in 1971 to award fellowships in chemistry, government, physics and zoology.

- Finally, the National Endowment for the Humanities has recently begun a special program for "Negro College Faculty Development." Small grants averaging \$7,000 were given to 16 black colleges in 1969 and to 15 in 1970. These grants are for special faculty projects—attending seminars or summer institutes, consulting with colleagues, working on curriculum changes in the humanities. Their intent is to provide some of the resources which characterize faculty opportunities at more affluent institutions.

While the funding level of \$110,000 a year is not munificent, and represents only one or two percent of the Endowment's annual budget, it is an interesting example of the way a federal program can temporarily help to compensate for low institutional endowments.

* * *

The basic problem of low faculty salaries remains relatively untouched by all these programs. That problem will be addressed only by general institutional aid which can be applied to overall operating expenses of a college, and by enforcement of equitable salary scales at state colleges.

H. NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

The Arts and Humanities Endowments are not frequently counted among major sources of direct education support, but the few grants they do give to colleges and universities for faculty and curricular projects are of great importance to the teaching function. After a slow start in 1966 they have moved into minority cultural and education support in useful ways.

In general, the education activities of the Humanities Endowment cover three areas: individual fellowship support, research and publications, and educational projects. They began with a total budget of \$2.5 million; their 1972 appropriation is \$24 million.

- In the first category of fellowships, grants go to universities to support individuals at summer institutes, for senior faculty sabbaticals, for junior faculty research, and so on. From 1966 to 1968 almost none of these grants for humanities went to

black colleges, but in 1969 a Negro College Faculty Development program began (see above).

By 1970, 8 percent of the fellowship division grants were made through black colleges, including the special faculty development program and several grants through Howard University. In that year, there was heavy emphasis on fellowships in minority culture studies, although only a small percent of the Afro-American studies fellowships went through black colleges. It is the position of the Humanities Endowment that all institutions need black studies and other ethnic studies, and that a wide variety of individuals should be encouraged and supported. Thus only 8 percent of the fellowship grants for Afro-American studies are administered by black colleges, and large grants have been given to other institutions such as the University of Wisconsin, Stanford, and Johns Hopkins.

- In the division of research and publications, there has been almost no support for black colleges. These grants go to projects submitted by individual faculty members for academic research in humanities fields. A few small grants have found their way to faculty in major black universities such as Howard and Morgan State, but in the 1970 allocation of \$2 million only \$10,000 could be so identified.
- The education grants division began to fund summer institutes in black studies in 1968. Four out of seven grants in that year went to black colleges, and four out of 15 in the following year. By 1970, however, the trend was to year-round rather than summer institutes in this field, so the Endowment no longer makes grants of this kind. In 1969, this division made a significant commitment of \$155,170 to another black college program of major importance through the Institute for Services to Education, a consortium which has for six years sponsored a special curriculum and faculty development program in thirteen colleges, chiefly funded by OEO and Title III of the Higher Education Act.

Altogether, the education division spent about 18 percent of its \$2 million dollar budget on black colleges in fiscal 1969. In the following year the Endowment's appropriations increased enormously.

Without a summer institute program or a major undertaking to replace it, the share of their institutional grants going to black colleges fell to less than 6 percent. The Endowment states, however, that its commitment to minority cultural representation in humanities areas is undiminished.

I. NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

The relationship between arts and universities is more tenuous than between humanities and universities. The Arts Endowment spends virtually all of its small budget on non-college grants.

By the end of its first five years, in 1970, it had spent \$34.7 million of federal dollars with only one significant program for black colleges. It does, on the other hand, support a variety of minority cultural enterprises in other local organizations, particularly since the creation of a special division within its staff to encourage such programs.

Among the few programs supporting colleges and universities were an investment of \$255,000 in 1969 in schools of architecture and design, a very small university-museum liaison program in 1970 and some support for college and university concert series in 1968 and 1969. One or two black colleges received grants of a few thousand dollars in the latter two programs.

The only significant funds for black colleges came through the "Poets and Writers in Developing Colleges" program, started in 1968, which supports contemporary poets and writers in residence as well as organized readings and campus programs. This has been a small but lively program, funded at a level of \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year on a matching basis and affecting half a dozen colleges.

Chapter 5

Community Service: A Deliberate Difference

The white man has always said "These people do things in an inferior manner. . . . Top centers in the country are now talking about midwives. If we had done that, it would have been called nigger care."

—Samuel Wolfe, Meharry Medical College
Quoted in *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1972

Although the major change in federal education programs during the 1960's was the growth of basic categorical support programs, the government also expanded its support to academic institutions to solve national problems. Just as Congress sought their help in the development of science, agriculture and technology, so it turned to them for the human and social programs of recent years.

By 1969, the federal government was allocating over a billion dollars annually to colleges and universities in a variety of social service programs designed to improve the health of all citizens, stem the tide of urban blight, improve the quality of education, bring the promise of equal opportunity to racial and ethnic minorities, train and retrain the unemployed for jobs, deal with increasing pollution and land use crises, lessen crime rates, and cope with diverse problems of the aging, migrants, small business men and the illiterate.

These many government programs, some huge and some a drop in the bucket, do not support the basic functions of educational insti-

tutions in a direct way. But they provide equipment, faculty salaries, new kinds of personnel, prestige and activity on college campuses that are increasingly a part of the educational fabric of this country.

They also provide access to decision making and national planning processes at the Washington level. The people who participate in major federal programs frequently are those who consult in the preparation of new legislation, the development of guidelines for existing legislation, and national planning for new human services programs.

One might assume that since so many of these problems deeply affect the lives of poor minorities, black colleges would be called on for leadership. (Not all want to absorb their resources and energies in this way—in particular, some of the smaller private black colleges choose to remain centers for liberal arts teaching.) But the resources of black colleges have in the past been too lean for them to engage vigorously in community service.

Some have made notable contributions, such as the civil rights leadership of Howard or Tougaloo, or the sociology and social research leadership of Fisk. Many have been deeply committed to improving public school teaching and to adult education in their communities.

But black colleges as a group, representing communities which are victimized and isolated by the economic and social developments of the last century, have not yet been able to make a significant contribution to changing these circumstances.*

For many years the colleges, especially those with high academic standards, have been gateways to upward mobility for young blacks; their mission was to bring young leadership into the majority society and professional attainment, not to reimmerge them in the community problems from which they came.

Few black colleges can choose to take an active role in community service if it means diversion of academic resources. Service programs are a great drain on resources, diverting faculty from the teaching function, requiring new plant and maintenance, sometimes new equipment, to say nothing of the costs of training faculty or adding new faculty with specialized skills. Generally the government turns to large public universities which can afford an institutional coordinator and continuity of management and staff when it considers service program investments.

In addition, the black colleges have been constricted by the racial discrimination of local public and private officials who expected them to remain islands of separate development in severely limited fields. They have also been hampered by lack of access to local news media.

The summary table below indicates how small support was for community service programs in black colleges in 1969:

* See Patricia R. Harris, "The Negro College and Its Community," *Daedalus*, Summer, 1971.

SELECTED FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS — 1969 AND 1970

(in thousands of dollars)

	1969			1970		
	Black College Grants	Total Grants	Percent to Black Colleges	Black College Grants	Total Grants	Percent to Black Colleges
Department of Commerce Technical Service	0	1,040	.0	295	1,492	19.8
Economic Development Administration	146	1,757	8.3	n.a.	n.a.	
Environmental Health Agency	78	20,875	.4	60	22,960	.3
Health Services and Mental Health Administration	3,822	274,539	1.4	5,576	243,104	2.3
Community Service/Continuing Education	226	8,500	2.7	253.6	8,600	2.9
Adult Basic Education	352	37,500	9.4	249	1,989	12.5
Social & Rehabilitation Service (programs for the aging, community service, rehabilitation)	842	68,222	1.2	813	52,135.7	1.6
Department of Interior (parks, lands, mines, water)	10	32,053	.03	107.8	32,585.9	.3
Department of Justice (law enforcement training)	204	6,482	3.1	489.1	20,979.0	2.3
Department of Labor (manpower training/research)	1,715	34,546	5.0	1,790.5	41,972.3	4.3
Department of Transportation	0	13,204	.0	455.0	10,148.0	4.5
Office of Economic Opportunity	6,869	73,887	9.3	5,189.0	33,945.0	15.3
Bureau of Educational Personnel Institutes and Fellowships	3,452	77,920	4.4	5,431.2	56,181.5	9.7
Teacher Corps	901	20,814	4.3			
Upward Bound	4,754	30,723	15.5	4,744.1	27,609.0	17.2
Talent Search	230	3,876	6.0	447.4	1,915.0	23.4
Training for the Handicapped	360	79,795	4.5	389	33,202.8	1.2
TOTALS	23,961	785,733	3.0	26,289.7	588,819.20	4.5

Source: FICE 1969 Report and 1970 Report

But that chart does not tell the whole story. There are many black colleges interested in community service programs.

George Parker, coordinator of such programs at Southern University in New Orleans, recently polled 86 black colleges and received 69 responses on this subject. Twenty of the respondents had ongoing community service programs; fifteen of those were land grant colleges. Fourteen of the respondents had urban studies programs. Thus, about a quarter of black colleges have some form of community outreach program, compared to a national figure of about 55 percent. But, significantly, 45 other respondents expressed definite interest in developing such programs, and the federal government should be reaching out to take account of their potential.

The question of black colleges and human resource programs is sufficiently large to deserve a whole report itself. Here we can just note some significant items which are part of that story:

- Community service programs are frequently designed to be managed at the state level, as is the primary federal urban services program, Title I of the Higher Education Act. State plans are formulated by an agency approved by the Governor, usually made up of male white educators and rarely including representatives of minorities and those affected by their choice of priorities. In Title I less than 3 percent of the funds go to black colleges. In vocational education, another state-managed programs, black colleges are still invisible.
- Urban service programs are of inconsequential size compared to agricultural or scientific development investments, and cannot be expected to solve many problems with grants of \$5,000 to \$10,000.
- The presumption that large public universities are the best location for service programs needs to be re-examined. About one-fifth of the black colleges fall into the "urban public" category, and some of them have received significant federal grants. But many Southern problems surround some of the smaller colleges; questions of scale are not always appropriate.

College has got to be available to the guy on the job who wants to get his degree on weekends and in the evening. And we have to extend our curriculum to the community by going to them. Why shouldn't we provide training for prison inmates and farm workers?

—J. Archie Hargraves, President, Shaw University, 1972

- In many problem areas—law enforcement, urban blight, para-professional training, and so on—few universities, black or

white, have a demonstrated expertise even now. If the federal government is serious about using institutions of higher education as new resources, they should consider major long-range investments in building capacity at black colleges.

- In some new programs the black colleges have performed an outstanding role. For example, by 1971 they received 11.6 percent of federal Talent Search funds to help poor students find an appropriate college opportunity, 19 percent of Upward Bound funds to give poorly prepared high school students an extra preparation for college, and 24 percent of the Special Services program funds which help under-prepared students remain in college once accepted.
- In other areas, such as school desegregation assistance under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the black colleges at first scarcely participated. When the government abruptly decided in 1970 to spend some new funds on black colleges, \$2 million of the Emergency School Assistance Act grants went to black colleges. The resulting quality of performance as well as government administration and evaluation was poor.
- There are many programs which present real questions of social change, such as the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Education Program and its development of new degree programs in criminal justice. The role of the black colleges in such controversial areas of race relations as police behavior deserves more attention than it is getting.
- Some federal program administrators are still scarcely aware of black colleges. Environmental Education Act officials in HEW for example, were not even aware in 1972 of the one black college program they had managed to fund.

Some of the human resource programs present important examples of the way federal agencies can become conscious of the potential of black colleges, and can design new processes to take account of built-in barriers and institutional racism.

- One of the more interesting stories comes from the Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW. A group of strong sociology faculty members from black colleges persuaded HEW to fund a series of meetings and conferences to confront the issues that disturbed them. They wished to deal not only with the low level of black college funding, but the insignificant size of black college grants which could not allow quality programs, lack of a vital communications network between Washington and the colleges, funding of projects to deal with problems of black people without black participation in the planning, and the absence of black employees in national and regional HEW offices. The Black Educators Council for Human Services (BECHS) which grew out of this process is a model of what other agencies might do. The Council not only monitors the

federal administration, but jointly undertakes to teach other college faculty about available opportunities and how to design productive applications. Its newsletters keep the issues alive, and the results within one agency of HEW are beginning to show.

- Another example comes from the Department of Justice, where the Education Programs funded by the Crime Control Act had a sum of money set aside to fund Centers of Excellence. Another division of the Justice Department, the Community Relations Service, persuaded the program administrators that since none of the black colleges could qualify, a special allocation of that money should be set aside to build new centers at one or more black institutions. About \$200,000 was turned to this purpose in 1972, and although the returns are not yet in, the initial decision was a promising one.
- One of the oldest examples is found in the Department of Labor. Back in 1963 an administrator there actively sought black college leadership in manpower training, and made six institutional contracts of more than a million dollars. The initial results were not encouraging, and some of those failures call for additional analysis; the absence of real job opportunity at increasing grade levels for the trainees made many of the programs unrealistic and troublesome. Since that time, another program has begun at Virginia State, Norfolk, and North Carolina A & T, with different planning which may prove more productive.
- A more promising example can result from the efforts of a HUD official in the Model Cities program, who arranged a conference for black college personnel on the opportunities in that program. In recent months, one black college has received additional Model Cities grants which brought its total involvement to over a million dollars, and other black colleges are preparing to participate at meaningful levels.

The lesson of even a brief examination of federal agencies is clear. There are many barriers to black college success with federal programs, in every aspect of the process. These colleges have been shut out for a century. To combat the resulting patterns takes careful monitoring, self-examination on both sides, hard work, and continuing development of extra process to overcome the past.

Chapter 6

Science and Technology: The Big Money

U ntil 1965 the major government-academic alliance revolved around scientific research: new knowledge, new technology, and the spread of new techniques to meet national goals.

The oldest research relationship is of course in agriculture, between USDA and the land grant colleges. Science and technology support overtook that during the Second World War, then coordinated by the Office of Scientific Research and Development, and now funded primarily through the National Science Foundation and military and space agencies.

The science agencies discussed here support more activities than pure research. But they present a complex of federal programs which have so much in common, and are based on such similar assumptions about national needs, that they can be called the "science research issue."

Although federal science research support is now equalled by other forms of federal education support and is constantly diminishing in proportion to other aid, it still accounts for nearly half of government investment in educational institutions.

Whether government sponsored research actually aids higher education has always been a subject of controversy.* Distinctions between

* Alice M. Rivlin, *The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education*. The Brookings Institution, 1961.

the purchase of specific contract research (particularly characteristic of military research) as opposed to the support of basic research are difficult. Even support for basic research, if it distracts faculty from teaching, is frequently considered antithetical to the education function of institutions. Federally sponsored research may actually cost the institutions in dollars as well as distractions.

Still another controversy surrounds the way in which federal research funds tend to concentrate in certain specific and limited areas. The National Science Foundation has annually documented the fact that more than three-quarters of all government funds go to a group of 100 universities. These funds are a strong presence but a selective one; in 1960 less than one-fifth of the colleges in the country had any federal research funds at all. Other kinds of imbalance are equally serious: geographically, funds are spent largely in major Eastern and California institutions, and the physical and biological sciences heavily dominate the subjects chosen for inquiry.

Regardless of the monetary value of research aid, it remains true that institutions which are major recipients of research funds are those that have previously established institutional strength and power; these funds in turn increase their power, prestige, diversity of curricular offerings, and attraction to faculty and students. Though research funds may not aid the quality of teaching and learning for students, and though the price they exact from the recipient institutions may be high, they are of extreme importance in both real and symbolic terms.

Black colleges had access to less than one percent of science agency funds directed to higher education institutions in 1969 and 1970.

SELECTED FEDERAL AID PROGRAMS — 1969 AND 1970

(in thousands of dollars)

	1969		
	Black College Grants	Total Grants	Percent to Black Colleges
National Science Foundation	\$3,512	\$367,000	1.0
Department of Defense	322	292,406	.1
National Aeronautics and Space Agency	694	128,400	.5
Atomic Energy Commission	59	121,032	.05
Totals	\$4,587	\$908,838	.5
	1970		
	Black College Grants	Total Grants	Percent to Black Colleges
National Science Foundation	\$3,185.0	\$361,459.0	.9
Department of Defense	199.2	324,751.6	.1
National Aeronautics and Space Agency	640.0	131,231.0	.5
Atomic Energy Commission	202.0	114,485.0	.2
Totals	\$4,226.2	\$931,926.6	.4

Source: FICE 1969 Report and 1970 Report

The orthodox explanation is of course that research is always located in graduate institutions, that highly trained personnel are necessary to produce cancer cures, space rockets, or new pesticides. Major universities play this role, not small and under-financed teachers' colleges.

These are two responses to this position which are beginning to affect the flow of money and public concern.

The first is, of course, that unconstitutional segregation and discrimination produced an institutional pattern in which there are few, if any, black universities highly developed in technical and specialized fields which can effectively compete in the selective programs of these agencies. Many research grants flow through a network of friends, telephone calls and unannounced opportunities. Sophisticated universities have learned how to monopolize the field. Agencies do not stop to examine competitive capacities for every categorical grant; they make the routine announcements and accept the prevailing assumptions. As we will see, however, **an agency which chooses to ask itself questions about institutional racism can indeed begin to locate and create capacity in new places.**

But a more complicated response must also be made, for it is impossible to discuss research, extension and development investment without discussing its purpose and its result. It is impossible to accept the argument that only major universities have research capacity without questioning whether reliance on advanced academic science research is in fact the only way to invest in progress for America.

Research is new knowledge—but it also implies new solutions to old problems.

We have to an astonishing degree advanced agricultural production techniques in this country, increasing efficiency and lowering production cost, growing far more of some foods than our population can absorb. But many citizens still suffer from malnutrition, many children still starve, many schools still do not provide free lunches, many farmers have been pushed into unemployment, many still cling to marginal existence on the land, and our cities pay the destructive cost of agricultural efficiency.

As a nation we are proud of our medical services and health standards, yet our infant mortality rates are higher than many other industrialized countries. Our health statistics reflect a history of exclusion for the poor and minorities. The death rate for boys born in 1967 was 22 per thousand for whites, 39 for blacks. Life expectancy is 75 years for white women, 68 years for black. There are 338,400 doctors in the country, and only 4,805 are black.*

In the field of basic science, we have again produced remarkable achievements—and the other side of the coin is perhaps not quite so

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Department of Commerce, 1971.

painful, because the absence of such scientific progress may simply be doing without a man on the moon, or without knowledge of new resources.

And yet, of some 250,000 persons in the nation with Ph.D.'s in science, only 800 are black. Careers in science become more specialized and selective every day, but schools for poor children still do not offer calculus and physics courses which will open those doors.

Herman B. Smith, Jr., director of the Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, cites a National Science Foundation study last year showing that 18 percent of the Ph.D. candidates in the natural sciences were foreign nationals—but only half of one percent were American blacks. 'There's no way you can justify that', he says. 'Why should we continue to educate foreign people and not our own people?'

—*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1972

It is not irrelevant to question the limited participation of black colleges in the huge government research programs, nor is it wise to accept as inevitable a low percentage. Reliance on academic research investment has left untouched some of the basic questions of the quality of life in this country.

By taking a closer look at some of the massive agencies in question, we can examine questions of both equity and purpose.

A. The National Science Foundation

This extremely important agency, established in 1950, was modelled on the lines of a major private foundation. It has received strong financial support over twenty years, and wide discretion in the distribution of its funds to "strengthen scientific research potential," to "award scholarships and fellowships in the sciences" and to "promote the interchange of scientific information among scientists."

The National Science Foundation carries out these objectives through project research grants to institutions and individuals, graduate and undergraduate student support, grants for the construction of research facilities, aid to faculty and curriculum development institutes, grants for instructional equipment, and flexible support to institutions for improving graduate and undergraduate instruction. Much of its sup-

port goes to develop science education, as well as to advanced research. NSF also houses a wide variety of information activities and governmental task forces. Its annual appropriations are substantial, escalating from \$225,000 in 1951 to \$154 million in 1960, and \$438 million in 1971.

In 1969 the National Science Foundation gave only one percent of its \$367 million budget for educational institution grants to black colleges, according to the FICE report. The 1970 report indicates a decrease to .9 percent a year later.

Like other science agencies, NSF relies on its own definition of excellence in basic research capacity, and has not committed itself to the task of overcoming past discrimination in building institutional research capacity. It has in its science education activities, however, begun a modest program especially for black colleges which may hold promise for broader future commitment.

The Undergraduate Science Education Division of NSF has a budget of some \$29 million a year with which it supports college science departments, teacher education, technical education projects and college curriculum improvements. The College Science Improvement Program (COSIP) of that division has sponsored the new activity, although their appropriations have decreased in recent years from \$9 million to \$3 million.

In 1971 NSF staff of that division invited black college presidents on the telephone to attend regional meetings with their science faculty and development officers to explain NSF programs in general and design a new COSIP (D) plan.

In Congressional appropriations hearings for 1972 NSF presented its case for a special black colleges program, and COSIP (D) won a \$5 million budget. In November of 1971 Dr. James Mayo took leave from his chairmanship of the physics department at Morehouse College to run the new program in concert with NSF staff.

The standard application process now in use includes the need for an applicant college to write a description of its entire science program, its past resources and future plans, and to justify its NSF application in the context of a development plan. A special review system for this program, however, includes a large number of readers, 80 percent of whom are from black colleges.

In all the broad general competition programs for colleges which NSF sponsors, black colleges had received \$3.5 million in grants in 1969. The new \$5 million authorized in COSIP(D) could make an impact on the science teaching capability of the black colleges, although the overall percentages of NSF grants are not dramatically increased.

NSF has thus found it possible to consider some compensatory funding in one part of its program related to undergraduate education. It has not so far dealt with programs of basic research in the same way.

B. National Aeronautics and Space Agency

Even a highly specialized technological agency can if it wishes make use of the black colleges, and can thereby make a contribution to expanding educational capacity for its own ends. The story of NASA's developing colleges program is a useful example.

In 1967, eight years after the establishment of the space agency, a black consultant to NASA talked the situation over with officials there, at the White House, and in the colleges. The result was a program "to build up capabilities of colleges to attain higher levels of excellence and to develop a continuing relationship of mutual benefit between colleges and NASA centers."

Four black colleges, each near a major space research and development center, were chosen to take leadership: Alabama A & M University with the Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Alabama; Morgan State College with the Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt, Maryland; Hampton Institute with the Langley Research Center in Hampton, Virginia, and Prairie View A & M University with the Manned Spacecraft Center in Houston, Texas. Since that time other black colleges have been added to the grant list.

It was a logical development, for the large public black colleges could develop research capacity, make use of the nearby scientific equipment for training and instruction, involve faculty in modern science programs, and expose students to new career opportunities. This special effort for black colleges was part of a larger ongoing effort to invest in new institutional capacity, although the effort has not been funded significantly yet.

The table below illustrates three years of funding to black colleges in comparison to all of the college grants of NASA. The percentages are still tiny but the funds are beginning to make a contribution to science departments at the colleges in question, giving their faculty access to advanced training and research opportunity, and bringing their students into contact with a formerly closed world. If this program were to achieve real financial support, it would offer a useful model.

NASA GRANTS TO COLLEGES

	Black Colleges	All Colleges	Percent to Black Colleges
1969	\$358,000	\$128,000,000	.3
1970	649,000	132,000,000	.5
1971	831,000	134,000,000	.6

Source: NASA Sustaining University Program Division

C. The Atomic Energy Commission

The Atomic Energy Commission during 1969 allocated \$121,032,000 to all institutions of higher learning. Of this total, \$59,000 was directed to black institutions. . . . The research that AEC supports is generally performed at institutions offering graduate degrees in science and engineering. Since only 11 black institutions offer these degrees, most black schools do not qualify for AEC research support.

—FICE, 1969 Report

Only two years later, black colleges were receiving five times as much from the Atomic Energy Commission, \$308,000, with over \$250,000 going into research awards. It appears that the AEC now has found a formula for beginning to increase support to these institutions. The FICE statement can and should be challenged.

The principal vehicle of the change is the Oak Ridge Associated Universities (ORAU), a private non-profit corporation by 41 colleges and universities in the South. It conducts programs of education, information and research under contract with the AEC and other governmental and private agencies. Three of the members are Fisk, Meharry, and Tuskegee.

Following a meeting of the ORAU Engineering Education Committee in 1968, Dr. W. W. Grigorieff of ORAU took the lead in organizing some programs with the black colleges:

- two lengthy workshops at Oak Ridge for dozens of professors and administrators;
- a sound proposal to strengthen engineering education at traditionally black institutions;
- a co-op work/study program that places black engineering students at AEC facilities for each summer of their college program;
- a trio program of (1) Professors-in-Residence at ORAU, (2) campus Resident Representatives, and (3) Research Associates all designed to create a "valid line of communication between the Negro and the white educational thinking";
- a regular newsletter "to satisfy the need for inter-institutional communication of new ideas and occurrences";
- a task force of black science educators to advise ORAU on the directions of its future relationship with black institutions;
- the submission of dozens of fundable proposals for HEW and AEC consideration; and
- between one and three million dollars worth of grants, contracts and development assistance to the schools at a cost to AEC of less than \$150,000 for the program.

The Workshops

A 1969 workshop was held at Oak Ridge for faculty from the six black schools offering engineering degrees: Howard, North Carolina A & T, Prairie View, Southern, Tennessee State, and Tuskegee. Seventeen representatives of the colleges met with more than 70 persons from ORAU, AEC, NSF, HEW, FICE, and the industrial corporations that have management contracts with AEC to operate the big AEC installations (Union Carbide and DuPont).

Both cooperative activities and individual projects were developed by the 1969 workshop participants. A bridge program for 28 high school graduates working at AEC was initiated. An AEC mobile laboratory holding five four-week courses at the schools was scheduled. Participants wrote proposals to a variety of federal and state sources which generated more than \$250,000 in individual project grants for science research and development of research and training capability at black colleges.

A 1970 workshop was much larger, following the formation of a national advisory committee of college presidents, foundation people, and assorted experts during the winter of 1969. Out of that workshop some \$547,000 in grants has resulted, mostly through HEW faculty training funds.*

The \$18,000,000 Proposal

Concurrent with planning for the 1969 workshop, the six engineering schools undertook a self-study effort which resulted in a precise statement of their needs for a four-year period ending in 1974. It showed that an investment of \$18,000,000 could quadruple the number of engineering graduates from the six schools, which have provided more than 70 percent of the nation's black engineers. Total enrollment in these schools of engineering is approximately 2,131 students. In 1968 they produced a total of 227 graduates.

The proposal was directed to the 21 industrial contractors of the AEC. It said that

historically, these institutions have not received sufficient funds to provide for a planned growth at the rate needed. Furthermore, unlike many of the major colleges, these institutions receive little or no support from the corporate world of business and industry. . . . It should be emphasized that the amounts requested in the following development categories are estimates of what is needed to "break the cycle" in which these institutions have had to "make do" with less and to allow them to close the gaps in educational resources between them and other institutions of similar size and purpose.**

* W. W. Grigorieff, *Oak Ridge Workshops for Faculty and Administrators of Traditionally Negro Institutions*, ORAU pamphlet, 1971.

** Proposal to Strengthen Engineering Education at Traditionally Negro Institutions, February, 1970.

These companies which contract with AEC know that there is a large shortage of black engineers. These corporations are being pressed to "get their numbers right," to conform to the requirements of the Equal Opportunity Act. It is obvious that here is an opportunity to get equal. But the \$18,000,000 is not yet in sight.

The Co-op Program

The pre-Co-op program is a bridge-summer program for high school graduates providing a generous stipend for a summer at an AEC facility and subsequent financial assistance during a freshman year, and partial financial support of the faculty member coordinating this activity on the campus. There are now 101 students in the Co-op program, which is funded largely by Union Carbide and DuPont. A job with the corporation is guaranteed at graduation. (There is a problem here, because the students may not be encouraged by the corporation to go on and get the graduate degrees that are necessary these days.)

The Brookhaven Semester operates under an AEC contract with Grambling College. Ten participating black colleges each select one or two students to go to Brookhaven National Laboratories for a semester of seminars, labs, and practical research work while getting a semester's credit. This usually takes place in the junior year. Faculty from the same college participate in AEC research at BNL during the summer.

The Task Force

After the 1970 workshop, there was a series of three "mini-workshops" at Lawson State Junior College, North Carolina A & T and Le Moyne-Owen to help evaluate the large workshop. At the conclusion of these workshops a small group of participants formed an advisory task force called LINC, with George Ferguson of Howard as chairman.

Its aim is to keep informed of ongoing programs at AEC, ORNL-ORAU, other agencies and foundations, and share that information with related colleges. At the same time it expresses the views and aspirations of the black educational community to those organizations.

The actual level of AEC research grant support has risen from \$59,000 in 1969 to \$308,000 in 1971. The system of support the AEC has begun seems functional. And yet, \$308,000 is less than one percent of the total funding to colleges and universities. Like the NASA development, the small change at AEC demonstrates what the dedication of a few individuals and commitment from the top can begin to accomplish. It does not yet, however, address the fundamental inequities. Unless the major \$18 million investment can be produced from a combination of public and private sources, the potential of black college engineering schools will not be realized.

D. Department of Defense

From its own point of view, DOD feels it has a clear, inviolate mission (to defend America from armed aggression), the burden of many constraints placed upon it by a questioning Congress, and the environment of an unbelieving citizenry. From the outside, DOD also appears to have no sense of broad social responsibility, and an over-developed sense of the value of largeness, "appropriate channels," and going first class.

Many black colleges may wonder whether involvement with DOD is a Pandora's Box they prefer not to open. On the other hand it dispenses over a quarter of a billion dollars a year to colleges and universities, three-quarters for research and development and one-quarter for Reserve Officers Training.

According to the 1969 FICE report one contract for research was let to a black college (Howard) in 1969 for \$80,000. In 1970 a contract for \$21,500 for research went to one black college in Texas. In 1971 none of the entire \$7.2 billion dollars DOD spent on research and development found its way to a black college. If ROTC funds are calculated, DOD allocated \$199,200 to black colleges in 1970, and \$262,200 in 1971.

There is at present no sign that DOD intends to change its practices. In order to understand its situation, these items must be taken into account.

- The Mansfield Amendment: This recent Congressional action restricts DOD research on college compuses to matters with direct military application. Some feel that to separate basic research from applied research, and restrict DOD relationships with universities to the latter, is to limit universities to second-hand subjects and hardware development. In any case, the amendment works against black colleges because it prevents open-ended grants, and prohibits the kind of "institution building" that other science and technology agencies have used to meet their commitment to black colleges.
- The Demise of "Project Themis": There was once an "institution building" program at DOD, designed to answer President Johnson's call for new centers of excellence, and wider geographic distribution of research funds. Although its regulations limited contracts to colleges which had a graduate program at the doctoral level in science or engineering, it provides a useful model. It funded 118 universities at about \$200,000 each before it was shot down in 1970 by the Senate Armed Forces Committee.
- Congressional relations: Pentagon officials seem to be convinced that annual Congressional scrutiny of their appropriations (especially by committees currently headed by

conservative Southerners) prevents their even thinking about developmental grants to black colleges.

- Academic Level: Pentagon officials seem equally convinced that the only good research comes from predictable and secure grants to advanced degree giving departments. They speak of the American Fighting Man and the need for excellence in all that they fund. "We're just not interested in research in undergraduate or Master's Level programs."
- Decentralization: The Research, Development, Testing and Evaluation systems of DOD are complex. Most proposals are not solicited, but come through application from industry, schools or DOD's own research organizations. Most contracts pass through one of the 52 major installations (20 in the Army, 19 in the Navy, and 13 in the Air Force). Twenty-five of them are located in states having black colleges. There are another 71 smaller organizations that do some R & D work for the Pentagon. Each installation has a pot of money out of which it doles contracts. Each has a continuing set of relationships with researchers in corporations and universities, although the local commanders evidently do not remain in one place long. Apparently no directive, such as the Presidential memorandum of 1969, has ever been relayed to these decentralized centers of funding.
- Grants and Contracts: DOD makes no seed grants, no basic grants at all. Contracts need experienced administration, and there is no way to get experience without a chance at it under different rules. Each contract has complicated forms, and inspection by grantor "investigators"; performance criteria are exact, according to officials.

Within these constraints there is at present little sign that DOD wishes to change its ways through internal leadership. There is, of course, such a thing as a "military liberal"—officers who are proud of the fact that the Armed Forces have confronted racial issues more forthrightly than other sectors of American life, who are proud of the desegregation of off-base housing in the South, who are initiating training programs on racial issues on military bases. They are certain that qualified black science programs can get DOD support, but like other Pentagon officials, they put the burden of change squarely on black institutions. If development of capacity is to take place, they feel it should be done by the National Science Foundation, not by DOD, which should continue to invest in pre-existing "quality." They do not seem to accept the thesis that all agencies of the U.S. Government share responsibility for the lack of that pre-existing capacity.

There is a Departmental Memorandum, issued by DOD's Office of Manpower and Reserve Affairs in 1972, on "Support of Black Colleges." It defines the problem: "to develop ways of providing affirmative support," and states a position: "to assist black colleges to qualify for a

larger share of Defense money spent at education institutions." It is one page long, and under "status" makes three points: (1) that in November, 1970, a conference was held with black college representatives, (2) that during 1972 DOD supported ROTC at 22 black colleges, an increase of six colleges and seven units over the previous year, and (3) that five additional units are planned for 1973.

It is obvious that no developmental mechanism for new research contract patterns are under consideration, no thinking is being devoted to assisting institutional change. If DOD should decide, or be forced, to undertake real commitment on a scale at least commensurate with other federal government agencies, these are some of the ways it might begin:

- **Self-study:** Few officials in DOD, much less in the research organizations, seem well informed about the black college issues, or the way in which a few major institutions have been promoted into a monopolization of money. A DOD sponsored study of their own research contracting process, with special attention to the attitudes of administrators of contracts, would doubtless reveal many barriers and potential solutions. DOD's own Human Resources Research Organization is a likely vehicle to promote such an internal evaluation and could doubtless be aided by equal opportunity personnel and contract compliance specialists within the Department.
- **Conferences:** DOD sponsored one conference in November 1970 which gathered 17 black colleges and oriented them to DOD procedures and opportunities. The product was minimal, but DOD was told a good deal about the problems of black colleges: that teaching loads are heavy and give little time for research, that science professors frequently have primary degrees in education, and that the best science administrators in black colleges are frequently drawn into general college administration rather than science development. But other agencies have used the conference and "council" mechanism with great success, and there is no reason to think that high-level discussion with DOD should be omitted. If DOD research investigators had modest funds to make regular visits to potential sites at black colleges, a network of relationships might develop. Without contact, there will be no grants.
- **The Domestic Action Council:** DOD has a board that fields questions of outreach, public assistance, community action, etc. This group could in its monthly meetings take a continuing interest in the question of black colleges, and exercise its informal authority to get things done. DOD is a top-down agency; its own high-level bodies need to initiate contact with high-level groups such as the Black Academy of Science, a distinguished group of black scientists.

Finally, other major issues need to be examined in addition to the whole question of research contracts:

ROTC

ROTC is currently on 22 black campuses. There are 5,224 cadets enrolled; last year 527 students were commissioned second lieutenant from these schools. In this situation there is both a problem and an opportunity.

The problem is that these graduates are frequently not as well equipped to compete in an increasingly technological military service as their counterparts from the predominantly white schools. An officer with a Southern public school education typically weak in science and math, and graduating from a black college, is going to resent the almost inevitable tracking towards old-fashioned careers that must result from an unchanged educational opportunity.

The opportunity in this situation is that science and engineering departments at the black schools can absorb many kinds of help. As it is now, the main contribution of the program to a school is the scholarships it provides to the cadets (tuition, books, \$100/month). Some additional program of general institutional assistance should be negotiated. At a minimum, black schools should get science-trained ROTC faculty on their campuses, with released-time to augment the science faculty. Since ROTC instructors get full faculty status, let them teach something besides the art of war.

Work/Study

For anyone to get interested in a science career, there must be some exposure to science along the way. The DOD has a wonderful resource available to students in its network of 123 laboratories. Here are opportunities for black students to work in a lab alongside scientists or engineers. At least one, the Navy laboratory at Anacostia in Washington, D. C., has already done it. But currently there is no departmental policy to encourage this. The Atomic Energy Commission has proved that it works. DOD should initiate some cooperative arrangements.

Pre-Termination Education Program and U.S. Armed Forces Institute

These are on-base education programs that could bring some resources of the black schools onto military bases, particularly in the South. DOD has already surveyed black schools to determine their interest in the USAFI extension program. College faculty could be paid to teach USAFI courses to base personnel. It would seem a good way to recruit future students who can later return with veteran's benefits.

The PREP program is a remedial education program to help men get their G.E.D. or to help them into college programs. Each base is supposed to have a PREP program, and black colleges are logical contacts in the South.

DOD has many unused tools at its disposal to further its science and engineering contacts with black colleges. Starting with the 22

campuses which now have ROTC programs, it can find many ways to augment opportunity for faculty and students. DOD needs a continuing Advisory Council drawn from these colleges to generate new ideas and attitudes. It needs to make a commitment to development money to expand national capacity and correct past discrimination.

Summary

Not all black colleges are interested in research and development alliances with major federal science agencies—the private liberal arts colleges, in particular. But all of them deserve serious attention and creative capacity-building grants from the National Science Foundation. Many of them will simultaneously be in position to take advantage of negotiations with NASA, AEC and the Department of Defense to advance science careers for their students, and research opportunities for their faculty. The process now beginning in some of those agencies offers plenty of opportunity for analysis and expansion.

Chapter 7

The 1890 Colleges: Still Second Class Treatment

In all the history of federal funds and black colleges, perhaps the most devastating and deliberate case of discrimination relates to the dual system of land grant colleges perpetuated by the United States Department of Agriculture and the states.

The history is a long one, going back to the nineteenth century. It begins with the first federal aid of any kind to higher education: gifts of land to each state to endow a public college.

The Morrill Acts

The explicit goal of the first Morrill Act of 1862 was to advance agricultural and industrial development, not to advance education itself. But the new "land grant" colleges soon became a mainstay of higher education offered by the states.

By the end of the nineteenth century, following the Emancipation Proclamation and Reconstruction, the South was institutionalizing patterns of segregation which determined educational opportunity for the next half a century. The first Morrill Act, frequently described as a democratizing step away from elitist education, had in Southern and border states the effect of producing white academic enclaves excluding the emancipated Negroes.

Against this background Congress undertook a discussion of the financial difficulties which states were encountering in maintaining the land grant colleges. The Second Morrill Act, passed in 1890, sanctioned the establishment of a dual system of land grant colleges in states which wanted them. (Seventeen southern and border states eventually chose a dual system.) Congress debated how funds were to be allocated between two separate institutions; the formula eventually agreed on was a "just and equitable" division. Other possible standards—"equal" or "proportional" division—were rejected.

The Act then authorized grants of \$25,000 to each state annually for operating funds, in a continuous appropriation, to support designated instruction and teacher training. The Nelson Amendment in 1907 granted an additional \$25,000 annually for general maintenance of the colleges. In 1935 the supplementary funds were again expanded by the Bankhead-Jones Act, which authorized about \$12 million annually to be divided among the states through a formula providing an equal minimum and a population-based supplement. This amendment also broadened the permissible range of instructional and teacher training purposes. Funds under the Morrill and Bankhead-Jones Acts are administered by the Office of Education.

Congress must appropriate the Bankhead-Jones funds each year. Recent attempts have been made to reduce and phase it out altogether, on the grounds that agricultural college instruction can no longer claim special treatment as a national educational priority. The administration has only asked for \$2½ million in the 1973 budget, but the land grant college lobby is actively seeking to restore the appropriation.

There has been relatively little controversy over discrimination in the Morrill Act funds, in spite of the clearly unconstitutional "separate but equal" provisions, because the original endowments are so insignificant and the supplementary instructional funds (\$200,000 to \$300,000 per state annually) have usually been distributed quite fairly on a per student base between the black and white land grant colleges in most states.

The Hatch Act: Cooperative State Research Services

Twenty-five years after the original establishment of the land grant colleges, Congress enlarged its commitment to agricultural development through the Hatch Act of 1887, which funded agricultural experiment stations at these institutions. Again, the states have exercised complete discretion about the use of these funds, which are administered by the Department of Agriculture. A later amendment assigns to the Secretary of Agriculture the duty of certifying each year that the states are complying with the provisions of the Act. He must withhold funds if he determines that they are "misapplied."

Hatch Act funds range from half a million to a million and a half

dollars to each Southern state each year, spent under the authority of the Cooperative State Research Service. In every case of states having two land grant colleges, the agricultural experiment stations have been established under the auspices of the white college. Committees deciding what research is to be carried out and who is to do it have been exclusively made up of white individuals, affiliated with the white college. The same holds true for the Forestry Research Service, over which the state governor has complete control, although the funds derive from federal legislation.

Not one of the states which supports a separate land-grant college for Negroes has established an experimental station in connection with the institution for Negroes. The work of experimentation has been the continuing life stream, however, of the white colleges.

—President John Davis, West Virginia State College, 1934

The Smith-Lever Act: Cooperative Extension Services

The final major piece of legislation directed to these colleges is the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Each state receives a grant to establish and maintain cooperative agricultural extension services for demonstration and dissemination of information about home economics and agriculture to adults not enrolled in the colleges. The Southern states in question receive up to \$4.8 million a year under this program. The Cooperative Extension Service in each state having a dual system has been located at and controlled by the white college.

Under this plan the work is going to be done under the direction of the Anglo-Saxon, the man of proven judgment, initiative, wisdom, and experience, and the Negro men and women will get the benefit of it. They are going to do the work which will serve to develop whatever qualities they possess susceptible of development, but it is going to be done under the supervision of a superior head and more skillful hand.

—Senator James Vardaman of Mississippi
Congressional Record, 1914

A totally segregated system, always controlled by the white college, provided lower level jobs for Negro personnel to serve Negro agricultural populations over the years. Again and again it has been documented that these extension services, with their powerful county agent systems, have neglected and deprived the rural Negro populations in Southern states. Formal segregation of the system existed until 1965. Subsequent litigation and the reluctant exercise of federal enforcement powers have produced a desegregated system but one which is still far from equal. What small powers the separate Negro system had managed to acquire were dissipated, and the "desegregated" services returned more explicitly to the control of the white college. Three state suits have now been brought which document continuing racism in employment and provision of services in the extension services.

The most liberal interpretation that can be made of the situation indicates that the Negro has been discriminated against in the administration of the Smith-Lever Act in the South and that this discrimination has occurred in spite of the fact that there was sufficient basis in the legislation for the Department of Agriculture to have prevented it.

—President's Advisory Committee on Education, 1939

The Current Situation

The result in terms of gross funding discrimination is well known. In 1971 the Civil Rights Commission compiled a series of shocking figures based on National Science Foundation data:*

- Although the white land grant colleges enroll only about five and a half times as many students as their black counterparts, federal land grant aid currently averages eleven times as much.
- The grossest disparity exists in those funds administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture which in 1968 gave nearly \$60 million to the white institutions, 150 times as much as it gave to the black.
- Federal aid is currently 114 percent more per student in the white land grant institutions, \$710 compared to \$310.
- The total dollar gap between white and black land grant colleges was about \$600 million in FY 1970.

* William Payne, "Forgotten But Not Gone," *Civil Rights Digest*, Spring, 1971.

Additional study by the Center for Study of Responsive Law confirms the discrimination.* The FICE Report indicates that black colleges received 4 percent of all Department of Agriculture funds to colleges in 1969.

The Department of Agriculture and the states have, of course, an explanation for this history.

They claim primarily that the black colleges do not have the research capacity to meet the needs of agriculture. The chief refutation of that argument is that capacity for institutional research is built up by historic support and encouragement of capacity; those agencies that promoted a one-sided growth must bear responsibility for the outcome.

There is an equally important view which criticizes the overwhelming emphasis of the Cooperative Research Service on meeting the needs of agribusiness at the expense of lower income rural people, thus contributing heavily to driving small farmers and non-farm rural population off the land in the name of more efficient food production.**

There are many research problems which the black colleges have more than ample capacity to deal with. These capacities are acknowledged in reports of the USDA, the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, and the National Academy of Science. But they have been conveniently ignored by USDA under pressure from state governments and the powerful friends of white land grant institutions.***

A second argument made by the Department of Agriculture is that the states have the right and power to distribute these funds as they wish. This position ignores the mandate of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the fact that funds have indeed been withheld in response to other, less serious, illegalities at the state and local level.

Finally, a common claim is that the instructional funds for land grant colleges are equitably distributed, and that research and extension funds ought always to be concentrated in a single institution where they will serve all the people of a state. If all the states had not chosen (and did not continue to choose) to centralize these services in white colleges which have traditionally served the larger, white farm operations, the argument might be more credible.

The presence of research and extension stations at colleges gives them status, prestige, facilities and fringe benefits for students and faculty which have been totally denied to their black counterparts. In any case, the "equal service to the people of the state" position is patently untrue in practice.

* Peter H. Schuck, "Discrimination as Public Policy," *Saturday Review of Literature*, June 24, 1972.

** See *Hard Tomatoes Hard Times*, Agribusiness Accountability Project, Washington, D. C., 1972.

*** See for example *A People and a Spirit*, a report of the joint USDA-NASULGC Extension Committee, Colorado State University, 1968.

... It is clear that in the scope of their programs of resident instruction, considering educational levels as well as the variety of curriculum fields, the Negro land-grant colleges of the South afford opportunities for higher education which are far less comprehensive than those afforded by land-grant college for white students in the same States.

—U.S. Advisory Commission on Education, 1939

During the past year some change has begun, due to energetic representation by the black land grant college presidents, the threat of legal intervention, and some investigative inquiries by the Commission on Civil Rights and the Center for Study of Responsive Law.

First, a special appropriation of \$8.6 million in research funds and \$4 million in extension funds was voted for black land grant colleges in 1971. This sum was first suggested by the presidents of black colleges, but lowered to a \$4 million total in the USDA's budget request. Active intervention by a single Congressman was necessary to restore the full appropriation of \$12.6 million. A step forward—until it became apparent that although the Secretary of Agriculture has the authority to disburse these funds directly to black colleges, guidelines have been interposed which assure their control by state research and extension services, dominated by the white land grant colleges in each case. A renewal and expansion of this appropriation for 1972 is currently before Congress.

Second, the White House announced that federal agencies would provide some \$200,000 in service funds to enable black colleges to acquire \$4 million worth of surplus and excess government equipment: chairs, machinery, typewriters—even vehicles.

Government surplus has been available to educational institutions since 1969, but it requires time, money and staff to take advantage of it. The material is free—some of it permanently, some major items on reclaimable loan—but it requires about 5 percent of the value for handling. Big state universities have been the only ones able to play the system: keeping up a useful "need list," visiting the warehouses frequently, reminding officials to look for items they really want, and snapping up the first-come-first-served plums. HEW recently sponsored an institute for representatives of the black land grant colleges to familiarize them with the system, and describe how special support funds would work.

Neither of these new allocations, however, seems to indicate a fundamental policy determination by the Department of Agriculture that the situation of the black land grant colleges needs to be radically

reexamined, in concert with a new evaluation of the role and function of all land grant colleges. There has as yet been insufficient acknowledgement of USDA's own responsibility for affirmative action to correct its own illegal and unjust record.

Beyond consideration of the historic discrepancy in Agriculture Department aid to black land grant institutions, the question remains how parity—or even disproportionately high appropriations—should now strengthen those colleges which have limited programs in agriculture.

There is no disputing the fact that a major cause of the weakness of agriculture programs in the black colleges has been discrimination in funding. An infusion of modest funds in conventional ways cannot be a sufficient response to the great evolution in agriculture which has changed rural America, and so victimized black and poor farmers as well as black institutions. USDA and the black colleges together need to work out major investments in new ideas: research and development related to today's needs and realities, programs in rural environmental quality, nutrition, community health, cooperative marketing, technical assistance, and dozens of other needs that the land grant colleges as a group are not now meeting. The correction of past injustice for the black land grant institutions should be the occasion for supporting them in a truly meaningful leadership role.

By increasing the flow of funds in conventional ways, as the USDA has recently begun to do under pressure from Congress, the government can take credit for reversing the trend of a century. But it has not yet addressed the fundamental issues of parity, service, and the legacy of a dual system.

Chapter 8

NIH: Physician, Heal Thyself

The National Institute of Health is an agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Its mission is to improve the health of our citizens.

—Public Health Service Publication No. 81

... first, that health, as a quality of life ... must be mirrored in the *process* of undertaking to improve health. And that those who would involve others, especially the poor, in the process of healthful change, must themselves be involved: the one who would change others must himself be changed.

—Nancy Milo, *9226 Kercheval:
The Storefront That Did Not Burn*

Congress has for the most part expected NIH to “improve the health of citizens” by funding academic research to find cures for serious diseases. Since the 1930’s, various branches of NIH have undertaken to add new medical knowledge and manpower to the nation, supporting hospitals, medical schools, and the search for new medical techniques and equipment. The expenditure of NIH through colleges and universities has grown from \$8 million in 1947 to more than a billion dollars a year. That sum will be nearly doubled for the next three years during the life of the Health Manpower Training Act of 1971.

In all of that activity, the black colleges have so far figured very small.

NIH GRANTS TO BLACK COLLEGES

	Black Colleges	All Colleges	Percent to Black Colleges
1969	\$ 7,191,426	\$ 849,600,000	.8
1970	8,748,000	1,041,710,000	.8
1971	14,856,000	1,150,000,000	1.3

Source: FICE, 1969 and 1970 Reports, tentative 1971 figure.

Most of the black college funds go to Meharry and Howard, of course, which have the only graduate professional schools in the field. Given the dire shortage of black physicians and medical services to blacks, the percentage seems indefensible.

Out of the vast array of NIH programs, perhaps one illustration will give a sense of the whole. Since 1965, NIH has given construction grants to 147 schools of nursing, totaling \$89 million. Of this, .9 percent went to Tuskegee, Dillard and Mississippi Valley State College altogether. Mississippi has one nurse for every 800 citizens, half the national average.* More than half the people in the state who require nursing care are black. The State of Mississippi has not allowed Mississippi Valley State College to expand its associate degree in nursing to a four-year program.

If the record of NIH support to black institutions has been weak, at least when it decided to address the question it began with an approach that could well stand emulation throughout the government.

Evidently prodded by the FICE reporting process, NIH gave one of its own staff associates the assignment of a self-study. After an intensive period of interviews at NIH and Howard University, an unpublished report was circulated documenting the recent record of black college grants, analysing applications not funded, summarizing the needs and problems of black institutions, and listing a comprehensive series of recommendations, including:

- Vigorous promotion of equal employment policies at NIH and the recruitment of black scientists for consulting and advisory bodies;
- Seven ways to increase personal contact between NIH personnel and black college faculty;
- Ten ways to stimulate research capacity and funding;
- Ten ways to expand teaching capability and premedical training programs at black colleges; and
- Seven ways to recruit and retain students in medical career preparation at black colleges.

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Department of Commerce, 1971.

Through charts of "approved fundable" research requests that were not funded the report demonstrates that **the capacity to do research exists in the black colleges**. An apparent commitment to give new and productive attention to the black colleges and medical schools is hopeful, even at this late date. NIH now needs to set up an internal monitoring process based on this analysis, and to demonstrate some results.

New Programs

Along with increased commitment, there are some new tools available. The Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 is designed to increase the number of health professionals and nurses in the United States, particularly in the health manpower-short areas. The Act will be in force for three years and spend \$2.8 billion. It introduces a program of per capita grants to health professions schools based on first-year class size increases; provides start-up grants for new schools of medicine, osteopathy and dentistry, and for two-year medical schools that convert to M.D. degree granting institutions; offers incentives to medical schools to attract students from minority groups; encourages the training of family practitioners; and stimulates the training of health professionals in areas that are now in short supply.

One section of the new Act that will pertain quite directly to black colleges is the provision for \$5,000,000 to be spent on projects designed to identify and enroll students from rural backgrounds who have an interest in returning to rural areas to practice medicine, dentistry, optometry, pharmacy, public health, etc.

Another \$5 million will "identify individuals with a potential for education or training in the health professions (including veterans of the Armed Forces with training or experience in the health field) who, due to socio-economic factors, are financially or educationally disadvantaged, and encourage them to (1) enroll in a school of medicine, or (2) undertake such post-secondary training as may be necessary to qualify them to enroll in any such school."

Another new NIH program is specifically designed to put some research money into minority schools. The Minority Schools Biomedical Support Grant Program is a five-year program with initial FY 1972 funding of \$2 million. A recent NIH news release described the process that developed the program:

Twenty-five minority institutions were surveyed during the past summer by the General Research Support Branch to determine their needs and capabilities in the biomedical research area. In October, 1971, administrators and scientists from ninety minority institutions participated in nine area meetings at which tentative guidelines were discussed. From these nine meetings and other consultations the program was developed. . . . Awards under this program will range from \$30,000 to \$500,000 per year for a possible five-year support period.

This money is meant to give faculty in minority schools a chance at the research and training opportunities in biomedical fields which have traditionally been well supported by NIH in other institutions. Grants will subsidize summer research, laboratory equipment, travel to meetings and other sources of current ideas and information, and staff training and equipment.

But like all NIH grants, the application procedures are complicated and lengthy. Overhead, so important to financially deprived institutions, is carefully restricted. And unlike the new undergraduate science program of NSF, there has apparently been no effort to solve the problem of review committees made up of white professionals from prestige universities.

Two million dollars will not go far among dozens of eligible institutions, but it is a promise of investment in building new capacity; it should be closely watched.

* * *

Potential changes in National Institutes of Health should be carefully monitored by black college interests. Not only are there two qualified black graduate schools in eligible fields, but the new Act calls for the creation of new medical school capacity. There can no longer be any excuse for not building up the capacity of the existing but under-funded black schools.

Half of the black dentists in the United States learned their oral surgery leaning over the same dental chair. Last year it was replaced by three new ones, part of a major renovation of the dental school at Meharry Medical College.

—*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1972

In addition, the problems of paraprofessional training and new service delivery programs directly affect large numbers of black people in this country who are victims of inadequate and discriminatory health care. If the new legislative intent is to deal more vigorously with these problems, NIH should be actively enlisting the help of black institutions.

Meanwhile, NIH needs to set its own house in order in terms of employment and grant-making process. Science organizations representing women scientists have recently filed suit to end the exclusion of women from NIH public advisory and review panels. Black colleges may need to resort to similar litigation if the powerful groups that determine federal science policy and grant awards do not soon reflect a more equitable racial representation.

Chapter 9

The Politics of Administration: State Powers

Although this report is concerned with federal dollars and agencies, it is important to bear in mind the extent to which state governments exercise control over the role of black colleges and over large amounts of federal as well as state funds. Their influence is of course primarily over public institutions, but private black colleges also feel the effects of attitudes and activities at the state level.

One key issue is whether in the name of dismantling the dual public higher education system Southern states will destroy the distinctive service of black colleges. Another is the way in which federal funds are frequently managed and dispersed by state policy bodies which determine the impact of some federal funds on black college development.

State Desegregation Planning

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 requires the Federal Government to enforce desegregation of the higher education system as well as the public schools. Thus far, the HEW Office for Civil Rights has paid little attention to that obligation. In recent years, however, lawsuits in several states and against HEW itself have been brought to seek compliance with this mandate.

HEW is required by law to suspend all federal grant payments described in this report if it determines, through the required administrative process, that a state is discriminating against public black colleges. Thus the federal government cannot escape its obligation to examine the expenditures of federal as well as state money in black colleges, even when they flow through entirely state-controlled mechanisms. Even under the proposed revenue sharing or block grant form of federal support it would continue to have this obligation.

Faced with the prospect of these desegregation requirements Southern states are, openly or behind the scenes, well into the process of determining the role of black colleges in a "unitary system." Far from planning creatively, however, they are acting defensively and minimally. The dangers in this situation are considerable. One course which some states such as Arkansas and Maryland are evidently pursuing is simply to phase out the traditional character of black institutions and convert them to "racially unidentifiable" units in the majority white system. Another course taken in Montgomery, Alabama, or Nashville, Tennessee, for example, is to retain their distinctively black-serving character but to relegate them to junior or community college status while expanding or establishing branches of traditionally white universities for prestigious degree-granting purposes. Even if these two courses are avoided, there remains the hazard of specious but inegalitarian formulas of financial support which will ensure continuation of second-class status for black students.

Last fall students at Fort Valley State College in Georgia organized voter registration drives, helping to elect a black to the city council. Just after the election, the city filed suit in U.S. District Court asking that the school be integrated to become 'racially unidentifiable'. Only two of Fort Valley's 2,270 students are white.

—*Chronicle of Higher Education*, May, 1972

A creative and equitable approach would be to recognize and take account of the discrimination which has traditionally been practiced and insist on involving black leadership in the cooperative development of new patterns that retain the distinctive service of black institutions, while enabling them to play a new and expanded role. These institutions which were founded for a segregationist purpose can and should bring special strengths to a "unified" state system of education.

State and Regional Administrative Practices

America has always tried to preserve state and institutional controls in higher education, even as local educators have turned increasingly to federal money to solve their financial problems. Especially in the federal programs begun earlier, states often receive automatic fund entitlements and organize the program administration themselves. More recently, a regionalization of federal administration is common.

A. "State Plan" Programs

The oldest pattern is through formulas which give states automatic entitlements, authorize the appointment of a state board to handle the program, and make federal funds (usually a percentage of the total authorization) available to fund the process of administration at the state level. All land grant college support is handled this way, as are most college construction and vocational education programs, and parts of the Educational Professions Development Act, Manpower Development Training Act, and Higher Education Act funds for instructional equipment and community services.

It is difficult to assess exactly the share of black colleges in these "state plan" programs without doing state-based research, because records of grants are frequently not kept in Washington. These programs are obviously popular with state government officials; only general approval of a state plan is required. The Governor retains the right to appoint the body to administer the funds, and the federal agency picks up almost all the administrative bills. These are programs which need close monitoring at the state level, for Southern state governments have not generally demonstrated any obligation to treat black colleges with fairness or consciousness of their unique value.

A look at the procedures which govern two of these "state plan" programs will illustrate the way they work:

Vocational Education

This is one of the oldest federal education programs. While not directed primarily at colleges and universities, it provides significant college support for teacher training, curriculum planning and research in the field.

Under the Vocational Education Act two separate state agencies are authorized to administer the program in each state: a state Board of Vocational Education and a state Advisory Council on Vocational Education. Every Southern state has designated its Board of Education to administer this act. The Board is responsible for drawing up the state plan to be approved by the federal government, and for dispensing the funds. The Advisory Councils are usually non-educators appointed by the governors. The role of the Council is vague and without much power: it evaluates current needs and programs, and makes suggestions to the Board. More than \$4 million of Federal money is requested in

the 1973 budget to support state councils. There is also a National Advisory Council of 21 presidential appointees, with a professional staff in Washington.

As in many lengthy legislative acts, various parts are handled differently. Those parts which are intended to be handled directly from Washington are sometimes returned to state control. In vocational education, for example, half of the career education and research funds are allocated directly by formula to the states to be used according to the state plan; half are reserved for the Commissioner of Education's discretion. But last year he divided his half among the states equitably, giving the choice of a project to the state Director of Vocational Education. Curriculum development projects, ostensibly funded directly from OE to the applicant, must be approved in advance by the state board. The same approval is necessary for teacher training projects.

The vocational education bureaucracy is firmly entrenched, and closely tied to the powers of governors and state legislators. The new Occupational Education section of the 1972 amendments authorizes \$100 million new dollars for post-secondary sub-professional training. The states may designate their administrative agency for these funds, thereby expanding the area of complete state management of federal funds.

Black colleges have received little if any support in research and curriculum development funds under vocational education legislation. Even in teacher training the score is not impressive. The 1969 White House directive evidently did not reach past Washington agencies to state administrators. If it had, it might still have been ignored by those unaccustomed to taking their directions from Washington.

Higher Education Facilities Act

Under the terms of this Act, the governor appoints a state commission which submits a general state plan for construction subject to federal approval. Some states designate their Board of Higher Education; others have created a new body. The responsibility of the agency, in addition to making the plan, is to rank institutional grant requests according to the priorities they have established, and to verify the data submitted for loan requests. The federal government then funds grants and loans on the basis of the state commission's recommendation.

Activities of the state commissions, which handle federal instructional equipment grants as well as construction funds, are paid for by a special \$3 million appropriation, divided among the states by formula. In 1967 an additional \$4 million was voted to encourage better assessment of facilities and improvement of plans. The outreach of the federal government went further in 1969, when \$1 million of the special planning funds were set aside to develop "special opportunity proposals"—making state plans to serve needy students and institutions. More recently, in 1972, that \$1 million set aside was attached to Model Cities,

available only to those state commissions which could coordinate some part of their college construction funds with Model Cities planning.

B. Regionalized Federal Programs

The basic education programs established by the 1965 "Education Congress" turned away from state planning and administration. These programs—student aid, developing institutions aid, the "trio" programs, library funds and the teacher training, arts and humanities and school desegregation support which followed later, are in principle direct competitive programs administered by federal agencies according to program priorities rather than state entitlements.

By and large, there are the programs which reflect a growing national commitment to low-income or under-prepared students. The black colleges have benefited most from student aid and Title III support, but since 1969 all of these programs manifest at least some attention to the issue.

The Nixon Administration has since 1968 begun to put into effect a regionalization of these direct programs, which to some extent accomplishes the intent of state management. Personnel to manage regional offices of OE are frequently drawn from local institutions, are closer and more accessible to the influence of state governments, and tend to operate according to prevailing regional goals and mores.

The process of application, review, selection and evaluation is pretty much the same whether centrally or regionally administered. But the people involved make a critical difference. To take a simple example: the Office of Education in Washington has a number of black administrators in senior policy positions affecting higher education; the regional office in Atlanta has one.

A look at the EOG program administration indicates how regionalization works:

College student aid officers are invited to sub-regional workshops to inform them about complex application forms and funding procedures. Regional staff get acquainted with college personnel, and choose review panel members from those they know. When an institution submits its application data the regional office reviews it for accuracy and validity. The review panel then reads each proposal, and recommends a total amount of "approved" requests for each college—a key step in the proceedings. The panelists are judging their peers' applications, within a club which requires considerable expertise on a technical level. The skill of an applicant in drawing up proposals and compiling documentation may become more important than the degree of student need represented by an institution.

Funding follows on a more mathematical basis—a percentage of "panel-approved requests" according to the funds available.

Consequences of State Control

Those who evaluate federal programs from the point of view of black colleges need to be as aware of administrative patterns, staff and review panel membership, and desegregation plans at the state level as they are of practices at the federal level. Certainly national legislation is ultimately determined in Washington, national planning for the future is concentrated there, and some of the major research and demonstration funds are tightly held there. But in the long run basic federal education support for colleges comes under the strong influence and management of state governments. Their administrative decisions are as important as Congressional appropriations or legislative intent.

Higher education programs managed at the state level have never been subject to a continuing civil rights compliance review procedure by federal officials, although federal grant recipients are of course required to file a compliance statement with each grant request. The history of school desegregation and other equal opportunity and equal employment programs suggests that affirmative federal action to investigate any remaining discriminatory practices is called for at the state level. As revenue sharing and block grants become more important in all federal aid programs, the need for monitoring will become even greater.

Chapter 10

National Process

Clone: A group of genetically identical cells descended from a single ancestor.

—*American Heritage Dictionary*, 1969

Common to all the apparatus of federal support, underlying both legislation and administration, is a system of interaction between elected and appointed government officials and outside advisors in influential private positions related to education and national needs. That network—or series of overlapping networks—includes dialogue between agriculture officials and land grant college experts, between science agencies and a circle of science experts in research universities and corporations, between HEW officials and social planners, between the Office of Education and the ranks of educational experts.

Policy planning is the key to determining not only what programs will be available, but who will review and advise in their execution. Black people—or any other minorities—have not been properly represented in this planning process. No study of the flow of funds can be complete without observing how little the black colleges and their graduates are chosen to participate in the policy machinery of government, which functions as a **clone** excluding minorities of all kinds. While the literal number of black individuals on any single committee may vary, a significant presence throughout top policy levels of govern-

ment of those who speak for black students and black-serving institutions and programs is essential. Government performance can be examined at several points:

National Needs Assessment (RANN)

Government planning in this decade tends to rest on "Research Applied to National Needs." In Washington, as in the cities, social engineering is the name of the game. Government is once again turning to the elite group of university researchers it already knows and has invested in to establish the pattern of that social engineering. It is critical that such new research not be limited to the institutions that have already had the resources to develop science and technology capacity. If the federal government designs the qualifications for institutions to be awarded new planning funds so that only those with fully prepared computer capacity can qualify, so that only those who have "research reputations" will be invited to participate, the result will be a whole new area of white university dominance.

Short-run economy may prove to be long-term disaster. Already black people in Roxbury refuse to cooperate with the "research" into their needs carried on by Harvard and M.I.T.; soon that pattern may duplicate itself among countless poor people and deprived communities who are tired of being the guinea pigs for plans which put money into the pockets of the planners but do not include them in the happy outcomes.

The fact is that generally the government has determined who can do what before actual capability is established. When the government wanted nuclear energy research, for example, it bought plant, equipment, faculty and time, and put them all together in one university location. If the federal government now decided it wanted the solutions to certain kinds of social problems, it could as easily buy all those things and bring them together in a black university on a large enough scale to produce results. The black colleges in turn must learn to think and demand on that scale, and not wait for program announcements of small or inadequate awards. They should determine the kind of support necessary to take on the problems they need to take on, and mount the kind of offensive in Washington that other institutions now perform so handily.

Those concerned with black colleges should initiate high-level discussions with the National Science Foundation and other leading agencies to determine how they can gain leverage in this needs assessment planning process.

Advisory Committees

Inside the federal bureaucracy decisions get made, and grant support given, because of guidelines, individual leadership, personnel

practices, office politics, councils, conferences, panels, task forces, grant review boards, and dozens of meetings and committees. This process is part of the normal management of federal programs; it is here that **cloning** takes place.

Government advisory groups tend to be peer groups, made up of friends, "good guy networks," proven allies. Little clubs grow up around programs and within agencies; the natural tendency of human beings to deal with people they know and are comfortable with takes over.

Thus in 1971 there were 324 committees at HEW, with 3500 members. On 180 of those committees, there was no minority representation; another 124 committees had two or less minority members. Only 21 committees had 3 or more minority members. Over at the National Institutes of Health there were 2000 persons serving on more than 180 committees. Only 73 of those people, or 3.6 percent, were minority members.*

Since that calculation was done, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot Richardson has apparently initiated some affirmative action to increase minority participation on advisory committees. He has encouraged department and office directors to take corrective actions, and has appointed an average of 20 percent minority members to the new committees over which he has direct control. Secretary Richardson has recently issued a memorandum on the participation of women on committees which outlined an action plan. He evidently finds it unnecessary to issue such a memorandum on minority participation because of progress already under way; for example, the Health Services and Mental Health Administration has within the past year nearly doubled the number of minority members on its 69 committees, from 59 to 113. The HEW Office of Committee Management, from which this information was obtained, expects a new survey in July, 1972, to reveal considerable change since the 1971 tabulation. If it does not indicate steady progress the Secretary should take stronger action.

There is a tendency in the Department, reminiscent of the attitude in science agencies, to exempt areas of "technical expertise" from such affirmative action. For example, the Secretary's memorandum on women says "This definition shall not apply to appointments to 'technical level' advisory committees if it is determined after substantial efforts at recruitment that sufficient women are not available in a given field of expertise." This begins to get at the heart of the matter. Expertise is in part created by government investment. **A truly affirmative program would take responsibility for creating expertise where discrimination has prevented its growth among minorities.** An effective action program would also retain a healthy skepticism about the definition of true expertise. One is reminded of the story about a black woman member of a student aid review panel in a Northern state: an official said

* Mimeographed report, Equal Employment Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, April, 1971.

afterward that she was a fine participant because she understood so much about the problems of poor students, and of documenting information about their eligibility for government programs—but since she was unfamiliar with the mechanics of student aid programs she was not very useful to the panel and probably would not be invited again.

There is a Committee Management Office in virtually every federal agency. Black college representatives should prepare lists and resumes of individuals able to serve on a broad range of fields, and establish vigorous liaison with such offices. They should insist on annual review of minority participation in committees of every federal agency, and should seek an affirmative action memorandum from every cabinet officer and institute chief.

Another recent move by the government may also prove a useful point of access. By Executive Order, advisory committees to the federal government must now be open to public observation; times, places and agendas of meetings are to be published in the Federal Register. This program is under the supervision of the Office of Management and Budget, working through departmental committee management offices. It could provide additional leverage in the complicated task of breaking up the clones.

Employment

There is no substitute for administrative staff who are sensitive to minority issues, familiar with ways to encourage black college participation in programs. Some federal agencies, including the Office of Education, have made far more progress in hiring minority staff than science agencies and health institutes. The machinery already exists for improvement: equal employment laws and equal employment offices in every federal agency. But black college groups can profitably engage in discussions with particular departments and programs of importance to them, in the way that the BECHS committee has raised the issue with the Social and Rehabilitation Service.*

The regional office of HEW is another critical group of administrative staff. Its present record of minority employment does not reflect the large percentage of black population in Southern states, nor the importance of its programs to increasing opportunity for black students. Staff selection, like committee selection, still demonstrates the power of clones.

Self-Studies

A useful way to follow-up on the original FICE reporting impetus would be to insist on self studies within each agency or major program

* See p. 53.

about its relationship with black colleges. Some agencies have taken initial steps in this direction already, and useful patterns exist in NIH and some of the science agencies. A description of possibilities is no substitute for action. But the self-study mechanism, including interviews with each unit chief, exploration of committee structures and powers, and examination of policy planning, would reveal a complex of administrative adjustments that could add up to significant change.

Regulations

One of the most powerful determinants of black college participation in federal programs is the content of administrative regulations and guidelines governing applicants. A single item in these regulations can disqualify an entire group of colleges. New institutions cannot enter a closed club, for example, if one of the regulations prohibits use of grants to renovate buildings or buy new equipment in order to perform the purposes of a grant. Research grants can be denied to those without previous publication credentials. A requirement of lengthy and complicated institutional data can place an almost insuperable burden on small under-staffed colleges. Many regulations are written within the agency administration, and while they are compatible with legislative intent they frequently add criteria and process not required by the legislative act. The determination whether a program shall be regionalized or administered from Washington, for example, is nearly always made by the agency rather than the legislation.

A classic example of the effect of application forms and regulations took place in the student aid program in 1970 when a new and simpler form to establish student eligibility replaced a previous process after considerable internal controversy. The resulting increase in black college participation in that program demonstrates the importance of analysing and adjusting administrative process.

Black college representatives need to pay particular attention to regulations in the new Education Amendments of 1972 as they are developed. All of the regulations in current programs can be analyzed for their effect on black college applications as well; particularly troublesome guidelines should be discussed at the highest levels.

The National Institute of Education

The Education Amendments of 1972 establish a new body within the Office of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to be called the National Institute of Education. A 30-man planning unit has been shaping the new agency for six months, based on a Preliminary Plan developed by the Rand Corporation. The mission of NIE is to "serve as a focus for educational research and experimentation in the United States."

NIE officials speak wistfully of the prestige and financial support accorded to R & D activities of the government in science and health. Clearly they hope that the \$550 million authorized for NIE over the next three years will start them on the road to comparable status.

Although the language of the legislation indicates that the primary emphasis of NIE should focus on education for the disadvantaged and the achievement of equal educational opportunity, only one of the sixteen "program elements" in the RAND design seems directed to this problem. There is no indication in the design that governmental policy or public administration of education will get research scrutiny; a staff member explains that "interest groups" are not to be served. Nowhere does the 200-page RAND report mention black colleges. Of the several hundred consultants and readers listed as participating in the planning for NIE, only two have identifiable association with black college issues. There are, moreover, scarcely any minority names on the long list. The bibliography emphasizes literature about research and change process, not background on vital issues.

The NIE is apparently destined to become another player in the R&D game, a new **clone** descended from the world of technology.

Chapter 11

Facing a Century-Old Mistake

This report has sought to describe the current record of federal policy and agency practice. That policy does not seem to reflect a belief that the black colleges are headed for extinction; the rhetoric of government officials, in fact, presents quite an opposite conviction. On the other hand, the current rate of increase in funds does not sufficiently support these colleges in the vital and permanent role they should play. **The effect of federal policy, whatever its intent, may be widening the gap between black institutions and white ones.**

Until the pressure from black college presidents and the National Association for Equal Higher Education Opportunity forced the White House to respond, there was in fact very little federal policy at all about black colleges. The FICE report represents a first step toward government consciousness of a critical issue. There is much more to be done before federal policy can be considered adequate.

Federal funds for black colleges are of course increasing. Under its proposed budget for 1973, the Administration expects the level of funding to rise to \$200 million. Independent studies suggest, however, that the level must rise to at least \$400 to \$500 million a year, and soon, if these colleges are to perform their proper function. The higher level of funding would display a special commitment to redressing the historic injustice of public policy beyond simply providing current

funds to help black colleges bear a major share of the nation's commitment to equal education opportunity.

Prospects Under the Education Amendments of 1972

The next five years are likely to see an additional improvement in federal support to black colleges—although perhaps not entirely the result of a strong special commitment to them by legislators.

Under the new legislation the government will undertake general grants to undergraduate institutions for the first time. The combination of new student aid and new direct institutional aid provided by the Educational Amendments of 1972 should provide significant and badly needed support to black colleges. Whether these funds can help to close the gap between white and traditionally black colleges remains to be seen.

The new student and institutional aid formulas are lengthy and complicated. Those concerned with the future of black colleges should keep an analytic eye on administrative regulations governing their use. Special attention should be paid to these items:

- Unless high appropriations levels are voted, close to the authorizations in the bill, many eligible students in black colleges will not be reached.
- Unless there is further sharp analysis of the distribution of EOG funds, and the new BOG funds, we cannot be sure that the poorest students are being served first. A close public scrutiny of each year would be helpful, focussed on the performance of regional offices.
- Since the new institutional aid formula is largely based on the number of enrolled students receiving federal scholarships, there will be increased competition for such students. Within a year of the implementation of the new formula a study should be undertaken of its actual impact on black colleges.
- The Act provides a lump sum of \$40 million for emergency assistance to institutions in "financial distress." The Commissioner of Education is to define that term, and to require a plan or solution to the institutional problem in advance of giving a grant. Nothing in the legislative history suggests that this section is directed to the problems of black colleges, although some will surely qualify. The panel of specialists which is to help the Commissioner make these grants should include individuals conversant with the black college situation.
- Grants authorized in the new bill to match state scholarship programs do not promise to be as closely targeted on low income students as they might be. The formula of distribution to states is based on the ratio of present enrollment to total

national enrollment—the kind of formula which discriminates against the poorest states with lowest enrollments. Grants are also reserved for full-time students, a limitation which tends to weight a program against some of the lowest-income working students. Two significant questions should be asked about the implementation of the program: (1) are students who receive these tuition grants using them to attend private and insufficiently desegregated colleges? and (2) is the term “substantial financial need” being carefully adhered to in approving state applications?

State scholarship programs have not always been designed for low-income students, and in Southern states virtually no studies are available of the impact of current subsidies. Black college interests should take a close look at the operation of this program.

There are other sections of the new bill which promise more support for black colleges:

- The Title III authorization is raised to \$120 million beginning in 1973. The current budget request is for \$100 million.
- The matching requirement in several key programs is waived for developing institutions—up to 10 percent of the total funds in the program. Black colleges can thus receive 100 percent grants for student aid, library aid, facilities grants and instructional equipment grants at the discretion of the Commissioner.
- The Higher Education Facilities Act authorization is raised to \$300 million in grants by 1974. If these sums are appropriated, and priority given to needy institutions in state plans, black colleges may at that point have a better opportunity to improve their physical plant and expand their capacity.
- Authorizations for library grants are increased, so that the basic grants may offer more substantial awards in time. But the Administration has requested only \$11 million in appropriations, less than the 1966-68 level.
- Authorizations for the Trio Programs (Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Special Services) are raised to \$100 million. But the implications of a new emphasis on “equal opportunity centers” need to be looked into.
- A new program authorizing \$15 million for the development and dissemination of ethnic studies curricula may give some black colleges an opportunity to build further on their existing resources in this field.

The new Act offers many new opportunities, although the level of appropriations will determine whether key programs will reach black colleges and their students in sufficient amounts to help them close the historic gap.

Additional Agendas

Other programs, not affected by the new higher education legislation, are of equal importance to the relative position of black colleges:

- New R & D programs in major government agencies need more visibility and study. The \$5 million NSF science education program, the AEC effort to generate \$18 million in corporate support, the NIH \$2 million allocated to Minority Schools Biomedical Support, NASA's efforts to link black colleges with research centers, and the special USDA research and extension allocations for black colleges all demonstrate that change can occur, and that black colleges are ready to make productive use of R & D support. **But these few millions of dollars are small change in comparison to the nearly \$2 billion given by these agencies to other colleges and universities.** The programs need to be viewed as pilot programs, and on their base a much larger participation established.
- A most important change must take place in the USDA attitude toward black land grant colleges. The Secretary of Agriculture testified recently that the Department is "moving rapidly" on this problem, a serious one by his own admission. The diversion of some additional independent research and extension funds does not solve the basic problem of roles and service, however, **and a more far-reaching review is necessary.** Litigation may well be the only sufficiently strong prod to a solution of this persistent problem.
- Special attention needs to be given to the black graduate schools' participation in programs designed for graduate support. There is little compensatory funding now for black colleges which wish to generate new kinds of graduate and professional momentum to address the severe shortages of black professional participation in American life.
- The question of legislative funding formulas should be examined more closely, for it is possible that federal funds discriminate against poorer states with lower percentages of college youth attending college. As these are the states where black colleges are mainly located, the issue is of direct concern.
- The question of indirect costs allowed for major universities in comparison to those allowed for black colleges and other poor institutions should be analysed. Overhead allowances in R & D programs, monopolized by white institutions, are notably larger than in HEW programs and there may even be discrimination within individual programs.
- Some close attention to administrative and legislative priorities in construction and library funds, two major programs whose original intent was broad institutional support without regard

to special needs, could redirect additional funds to the urgent needs of black colleges.

- The government should, through FICE or the new National Institute of Education or the HEW National Center for Educational Statistics, make far more current information available on race and education issues. The study of student aid impact in black colleges, more accurate enrollment and degree-granting data on blacks, comparative data on library and construction needs are a few of the areas in which continuous information is necessary

We find an appalling lack of hard facts as to the Negro in America. For example, there are no agreed statistics as to the number of Negroes enrolled in higher education. Contrast this with all the emotion-laden material about the problems of the Negro in higher education.

—Bowles and DeCosta, *Between Two Worlds*,
Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1971

In short, while student aid and the Developing Institutions Program are central and important sources of federal support, they are far from the whole story. There is an array of other changes that call out for action.

The federal government cannot and should not be expected to decide what the various roles of the black institutions should be, or what levels of instruction they should provide, or which ones are destined to attain equity or excellence. Those are questions to be addressed by the institutions themselves, or their constituencies, or the states which govern them. But in the years ahead these decisions are going to be forthcoming, and federal policy inevitably will influence them.

Those colleges and universities which have staked out a clear mission for themselves and have directed the resources at their command toward the fulfillment of that mission should be able to look to the federal government for help. The government, on the other hand, should be expected not only to respond to initiatives from the colleges but also to act on its own initiative, not out of political instinct alone but with a sense of national purpose and of constitutional imperatives.

The nation needs such institutions as equal partners in the total educational system. Indeed, it owes a special debt to those black colleges and universities which have served both faithfully and surprisingly well, in spite of the stigma of segregation that was imposed on them for so many years. The federal government alone cannot guarantee the survival of black colleges, either public or private. But it has a crucial part to play, and a clear responsibility to correct a century-old mistake.

Appendix A:
**BLACK COLLEGE ASSOCIATIONS
AND AGENCIES**

Institute for Services to Education

2001 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
202-232-9000
Dr. Elias Blake, Director

Moton College Service Bureau

2001 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
202-667-9505
John F. Potts, Director

**National Association for Equal Opportunity in
Higher Education**

2001 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
202-232-8500
Mark Miles Fisher, IV, Director

Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges

805 Peachtree Street, N.W., Suite 577
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
404-874-8073
Dr. Herman B. Smith, Director

**Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve
College Services**

2001 S Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20009
202-232-7738
Dr. Van S. Allen, Director

United Negro College Fund

65 East 52nd Street
New York, New York 10022
212-751-0300
Arthur Fletcher, Executive Director

Appendix B: BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Astin, Alexander and Lee, Calvin, *The Invisible Colleges*. (New Jersey, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972)
- Bowles, Frank and DeCosta, Frank, *Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education*. (New Jersey, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971)
- Bullock, Henry Allen, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 To The Present*. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1967)
- Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *From Isolation to Mainstream: Problems of the Colleges Founded for Negroes*. (New Jersey, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971)
- Daedalus Magazine, *The Future of Black Colleges*. (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Summer 1971)
- Egerton, John, *Black Public Colleges: Integration and Disintegration*. (Nashville, Race Relations Information Center, 1971)
- McGrath, Earl J., *The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965)
- Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, *Public Negro Colleges: A Fact Book*. (Atlanta, 1971)
- Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, *Directory of Traditionally Black Colleges and Universities in the United States*. (Atlanta, 1971)
- Rivlin, Alice M., *The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education*. (Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1961)
- Southern Regional Education Board, *Special Financial Needs of Traditionally Negro Colleges*. (Atlanta, 1969)
- Wolk, Ronald A., *Alternative Methods of Federal Funding for Higher Education*. (Carnegie Commission on the Future of Higher Education, 1968)

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

(the following are available from the Superintendent of Documents,
Washington, D. C. 20202)

- Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Years 1963-66*. National Science Foundation, NSF 67-14
- Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Year 1969*. National Science Foundation, NSF 70-27
- Federal Support to Universities and Colleges, Fiscal Year 1970*. National Science Foundation, NSF 71-28
- Federal Agencies and Black Colleges, Fiscal Year 1969*. Available from Federal Interagency Commission on Education, HEW
- Federal Agencies and Black Colleges, Fiscal Year 1970*. Catalogue Number HE 5.250:50068
- How the Office of Education Assists College Students and Colleges*. 1966, Revised 1970. Catalogue Number FS 255-55051-70
- Students and Buildings*, Planning Paper 68-2, Office of Education, Catalogue Number FS 5.250:50054

Appendix C:
LIST OF BLACK COLLEGES*

TABLE 1—Private Four-Year Colleges and Universities Founded for
Negroes in the U.S., 1969

Location	Institution	Year founded*	Support and control†
Alabama			
Birmingham	Daniel Payne College	1889	AME
Birmingham	Miles College	1902	CME
Huntsville	Oakwood College	1896	SDA
Tuscaloosa	Stillman College	1876	Presb. U.S.
Talladega	Talladega College	1867	AMA-Ind.
Tuskegee	Tuskegee Institute	1881	Independent
Arkansas			
Little Rock	Arkansas Baptist College	1884	NBC
Little Rock	Philander Smith College	1877	Methodist
District of Columbia			
Washington	Howard University	1867	Independent
Florida			
Daytona Beach	Bethune-Cookman College	1904	Methodist
Jacksonville	Edward Waters College	1883	AME
Miami	Florida Memorial College	1892	ABC
Georgia			
Atlanta	Atlanta University	1865	Independent
Atlanta	Clark College	1869	Methodist
Atlanta	Interdenominational Theological Center	1958	Independent
Atlanta	Morehouse College	1867	Independent
Atlanta	Morris Brown College	1881	AME
Augusta	Paine College	1882	Methodist and CME
Atlanta	Spelman College	1881	Independent
Kentucky			
Louisville	Simmons University	1879	NBC
Louisiana			
New Orleans	Dillard University	1868	Independent
New Orleans	Xavier University	1925	RC
Mississippi			
Holly Springs	Mississippi Industrial College	1905	CME
Holly Springs	Rust College	1866	Methodist
Tougaloo	Tougaloo College	1869	AMA and UCMS

* Reproduced by permission from *From Isolation to Mainstream*, Copyright © 1971 by The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Accred- itation#	Level of offerings	Total enrollment‡		Increase or (-) loss‡	Degrees awarded, 1969‡
		1969	1968		
S			391		
SA	bachelor's	999	1,065	-66	130
SA	bachelor's	428	552	-124	87
SA	bachelor's	513	802	-289	100
SA	bachelor's	546	579	-33	74+
SA	master's	3,062	3,184	-122	627
S	bachelor's	170	302	-132	42
NCA	bachelor's	596	594	1	124
MSA	doctor's	8,596	8,797	-201	1,419+
SA	bachelor's	1,138	962	176	185
S	bachelor's	1,014‡	1,014‡		98+
SA	bachelor's	864	756	108	100
SA	doctor's	1,025	1,056	-31	370+
SA	bachelor's	1,072	1,003	69	150
P	master's		100		
SA	bachelor's	978	1,035	-57	141+
SA	bachelor's	1,420	1,372	48	168
SA	bachelor's	656	713	-57	118
SA	bachelor's	976	945	31	173
S	bachelor's	105‡	105‡		4
SA	bachelor's	922	910	12	150
SA	master's	1,482	1,362	120	161
S	bachelor's	424	320	104	88
SA	bachelor's	610	613	-3	105
SA	bachelor's	513	714	-201	143

Location	Institution	Year founded*	Support and control†
North Carolina			
Concord	Barber-Scotia College	1867	Presbyterian
Greensboro	Bennett College	1873	Methodist
Charlotte	Johnson C. Smith University	1867	Presbyterian
Salisbury	Livingston College	1879	AMEZ
Raleigh	Saint Augustine's College	1867	Prot. Episcopal
Raleigh	Shaw University	1865	ABC
Ohio			
Wilberforce	Wilberforce University	1856	AME
Pennsylvania			
Lincoln University	Lincoln University	1854	Independent
South Carolina			
Columbia	Allen University	1870	AME
Columbia	Benedict College	1870	ABC
Orangeburg	Claffin College	1869	Methodist
Sumter	Morris College	1905	SBC
Denmark	Voorhees College	1897	Prot. Episcopal
Tennessee			
Nashville	Fisk University	1866	Independent
Knoxville	Knoxville College	1875	United Presb.
Jackson	Lane College	1882	CME
Memphis	LeMoyne-Owen College	1870	AMA
Nashville	Meharry Medical College	1876	Independent
Texas			
Dallas	Bishop College	1881	ABC
Austin	Huston-Tillotson College	1877	Methodist and United Church of Christ
Hawkins	Jarvis-Christian College	1912	Disc. of Christ
Waco	Paul Quinn College	1872	AME
Tyler	Texas College	1894	CME
Marshall	Wiley College	1873	Methodist
Virginia			
Hampton	Hampton Institute	1868	Independent
Lawrenceville	St. Paul's College	1888	Prot. Episcopal
Lynchburg	Virginia Seminary and College	1888	Baptist
Richmond	Virginia Union University	1865	ABC

* The year of founding for several institutions in the year of founding of their progenitors.

† CME = Christian Methodist Episcopal, SDA = Seventh Day Adventist, MBC = Methodist, AMA = American Missionary Association, Presb. U.S. = Presbyterian, AMA-Ind. = American Missionary Association—Independent, NBC = Northern Baptist Convention, AME = African Methodist Episcopal, ABC = Baptist, RC = Roman Catholic, UCMS = United Church, AMEZ = African Methodist Episcopal Zion, SBC = State Baptists Convention.

‡ MSA = Middle States Association, NCA = North Central Association, P = Accredited by appropriate professional agency, S = State, and SA = Southern Association.

§ The Federal Interagency Committee on Education, *The Black Colleges: A Natural Resource*, mimeographed, pp. iv-10ff., based on data from U.S. Office of Education, *Opening Fall Enrollment in Higher Education: 1968*, and preliminary 1969 data from the Higher Education General Information Survey in that office; and *Directory of Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States of America*, Plans for Progress, January, 1969.

¶ 1969 figures not available when table compiled.

Accred- itation	Level of offerings	Total enrollments		Increase or (-) loss	Degrees awarded, 1969
		1969	1968		
SA	bachelor's	560	609	-49	31+
SA	bachelor's	627	684	-57	139
SA	bachelor's	1,244	1,339	-95	175
SA	bachelor's	809	836	-27	108+
SA	bachelor's	1,109	1,040	69	108
SA	bachelor's	1,193	1,085	108	111
NCA	bachelor's	1,003	1,043	-40	105
MSA	bachelor's	1,130	1,002	128	125
S	bachelor's	600	699	-99	141
SA	bachelor's	1,254	1,254		230
SA	bachelor's	708	731	-23	87
S	bachelor's	534	580	-46	75
SA	bachelor's	715	725	-10	109
SA	master's	1,233	1,161	72	228
SA	bachelor's	918	888	30	125
SA	bachelor's	976	1,102	-126	160
SA	bachelor's	703	695	8	130
P	medical	487	434	53	84
SA	bachelor's	1,940	1,775	165	246
SA	bachelor's	641	832	-191	80
SA	bachelor's	550	551	-1	72
S	bachelor's	584	633	-49	63+
SA	bachelor's	437	479	-42	53
SA	bachelor's	468	725	-257	70
SA	master's	2,094	2,670	-576	470
SA	bachelor's	537	454	83	79
S	bachelor's	64	115	-51	10
SA	bachelor's	1,371	1,312	59	206
		52,598	54,699	-2,325	8,387

TABLE 2—Public four-year colleges and universities founded for
Negroes in the U.S., 1969

Location	Institution	Year founded*	Support and control
Alabama			
Normal	Alabama A & M College	1875	state
Montgomery	Alabama State College	1873	state
Arkansas			
Pine Bluff	Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical & Normal College	1873	state
Delaware			
Dover	Delaware State College	1891	state
District of Columbia			
Washington	District of Columbia Teachers College	1873	city
Florida			
Tallahassee	Florida A & M University	1887	state
Georgia			
Albany	Albany State College	1903	state
Fort Valley	Fort Valley State College	1895	state
Savannah	Savannah State College	1890	state
Kentucky			
Frankfort	Kentucky State College	1886	state
Louisiana			
Grambling	Grambling College	1901	state
Baton Rouge	Southern University and A & M College	1880	state
Maryland			
Bowie	Bowie State College	1867	state
Baltimore	Coppin State College	1900	state
Baltimore	Morgan State College	1867	state
Mississippi			
Lorman	Alcorn A & M College	1871	state
Jackson	Jackson State College	1877	state
Itta Bena	Mississippi Valley State College	1950	state
North Carolina			
Greensboro	North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University	1891	state
Elizabeth	Elizabeth City State College	1891	state
Fayetteville	Fayetteville State College	1867	state
Durham	North Carolina Central University	1909	state
Winston-Salem	Winston-Salem State College	1892	state
Ohio			
Wilberforce	Central State University	1887	state

Accred- itation	Level of offerings	Total enrollments		Increase or (-) loss	Degrees awarded, 1969
		1969	1968		
SA	master's	2,286	2,076	210	232
SA	master's	2,340	2,169	171	403
NCA	bachelor's	3,411	3,693	-282	456+
MSA	bachelor's	1,300	909	391	172
MSA	bachelor's				
SA	master's	4,943	4,508	435	846
SA	bachelor's	1,816	1,635	181	200
SA	master's	2,247	2,102	145	362
SA	bachelor's	2,485	1,931	554	210
SA	bachelor's	1,620	1,606	14	165
SA	bachelor's	3,699	3,735	-36	475
SA	master's	9,222	9,978	-756	1,468
MSA	master's	1,609	1,328	281	100+
MSA	master's	1,573	1,125	448	85+
MSA	master's	4,578	4,391	187	602
SA	bachelor's	2,421	2,305	116	416
SA	master's	4,541	3,672	869	544
SA	bachelor's	2,282	2,497	-215	350
SA	master's	3,714	3,844	-130	549
SA	bachelor's	1,039	1,009	30	185
SA	bachelor's	1,137	1,243	-106	119
SA	master's	3,290	3,042	248	485
SA	bachelor's	1,461	1,325	136	n.a.
NCA	master's	2,567	2,626	-59	296+

Location	Institution	Year founded*	Support and control
Oklahoma			
Langston	Langston University	1897	state
Pennsylvania			
Cheyney	Cheyney State College	1837	state
South Carolina			
Orangeburg	South Carolina State College	1895	state
Tennessee			
Nashville	Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University	1909	state
Texas			
Prairie View	Prairie View A & M College	1876	state
Houston	Texas Southern University	1947	state
Virginia			
Petersburg	Virginia State College	1882	state
Norfolk	Norfolk State College	1935	state

* The year of founding for several institutions in the year of founding of their progenitors.

† MSA = Middle States Association, NCA = North Central Association, P = Accredited by appropriate professional agency, S = State, and SA = Southern Association.

‡ The Federal Interagency Committee on Education, **The Black Colleges: A Natural Resource**, mimeographed, pp. iv-10ff., based on data from U.S. Office of Education, **Opening Fall Enrollment in Higher Education: 1968**, and preliminary 1969 data from the Higher Education General Information Survey in that office; and **Directory of Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States of America**, Plans for Progress, January, 1969.

Accred- itation†	Level of offerings	Total enrollment‡		Increase or (-) loss	Degrees awarded, 1969
		1969	1968		
NCA	bachelor's	1,224	1,324	-100	162+
MSA	bachelor's	2,012	1,985	27	310
SA	master's	2,191	2,081	110	410
SA	master's	4,543	4,536	7	623
SA	master's	4,325	4,030	295	577
SA	master's	4,754	4,513	241	573
SA	master's	3,085	2,975	110	412
SA	bachelor's	4,644	4,400	244	404
		<u>92,359</u>	<u>87,773</u>	<u>3,766</u>	<u>12,191</u>

TABLE 3—Two-year colleges founded for Negroes in the U.S., 1969

Location	Institution	Year founded*	Support and control
PUBLIC			
Alabama			
Mobile	Mobile State Junior College	1965	state
Birmingham	Wenonah State Junior College	1963	state
Mississippi			
Clarksdale	Coahoma Junior College	1949	state
Utica	Utica Junior College	1903	district
PRIVATE			
Alabama			
Selma	Alabama Lutheran Academy and College	1922	Lutheran
Greenville	Lomax-Hannon College	1893	Methodist
Selma	Selma University	1878	MBC
Arkansas			
North Little Rock	Shorter College	1886	AME
Mississippi			
West Point	Mary Holmes Junior College	1892	Presbyterian
Natchez	Natchez Junior College	1885	Baptist
Prentiss	Prentiss N & I Institute	1907	Independent
Lexington	Saints Junior College	1918	Church of God
North Carolina			
Kittrell	Kittrell College	1886	AME
South Carolina			
Rock Hill	Clinton College	1894	Methodist
Rock Hill	Friendship Junior College	1891	Baptist
Tennessee			
Chattanooga	Chattanooga City College	1923	Independent Methodist
Morristown	Morristown College		
Texas			
Tyler	Butler College	1905	Baptist
Crockett	Mary Allen College	1885	Baptist
Terrell	Southwestern Christian College	1950	Church of Christ

* The year of founding for several institutions is the year of founding of their progenitors.

† MBC = Methodist, AME = African Methodist Episcopal.

‡ S = State.

Accred- itation#	Enrollment, 1968
SA	767
S	702
S	831
S	635
	2,935
	50
S	12
S	224
S	191
S	356
S	180
S	408
S	71
	276
	50
S	312
	203
SA	282
S	125
	100
S	111
	2,727

NOV 10 1972